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Provisional

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Tuesday, 28 November 2000, 11 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. van Walsum	(Netherlands)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cappagli
	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Canada	Mr. Heinbecker
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	France	Mr. Doutriaux
	Jamaica	Mr. Ward
	Malaysia	Mr. Hasmy
	Mali	Mr. Keita
	Namibia	Mr. Andjaba
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Tunisia	Mr. Jerandi
	Ukraine	Mr. Kuchynski
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Eldon
	United States of America	Ms. Soderberg

Agenda

The situation in East Timor.

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00-76632 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 11.05 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in East Timor

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Transitional Administrator for East Timor.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Vieira de Mello to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Security Council mission to East Timor and Indonesia, document S/2000/1105. Members of the Council have also received photocopies of a letter dated 27 November 2000 from Indonesia, which will be issued as document S/2000/1125.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing by Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Transitional Administrator for East Timor.

I call on Mr. Vieira de Mello.

Mr. Vieira de Mello: Thank you, Mr. President, for inviting me to address the Council.

Since I last briefed the Council, on 29 September, a mission from the Council has visited and reported on the situation in East and West Timor. As that report is barely one week old, I will focus my remarks today on some of the specific issues highlighted therein, relate to members our plans for the donors conference in Brussels next week and update members on discussions we have had concerning the path for political transition in 2001.

It is also worthwhile to highlight the critical juncture — positively so, I should add — at which we once more now find ourselves in East Timor. Beyond the emergency phase and beyond the start-up of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), we are now well advanced in the transition to independence. Our consultative mechanisms through the cabinet structure and the all-Timorese National Council have become more sophisticated, and we are beginning to see the start of a more avowedly political climate in East Timor. This is a healthy and timely development, allowing us to turn our attention to how best the final march to full independence should be managed and to begin thinking now of what type of international assistance East Timor might need once that independence has been attained.

But before I begin my brief proper, I would just like to say a few words of thanks to the Council for sending to East Timor the mission that Ambassador Andjaba led to see at first hand the progress that has been made and the challenges that remain. We all found the visit to be of immense help, stimulating our thinking about the way forward, highlighting areas of priority and reassuring us that we are not alone in our endeavours.

As the Security Council mission has reported, the security situation in East Timor is stable. In West Timor, we continue to have concerns about the existence and the impunity of those among the militias who remain incorrigibly committed to a violent path. But there has been some progress in terms of the repatriation of refugees and reconciliation talks. I am pleased to report that the repatriation of a group of 410 refugees, made up predominantly of what we call the former MILSAS — militarized civil defence elements — and their families, and to which task I have assigned my own Chief of Staff, took place very successfully last week, with excellent cooperation both from the Indonesian authorities and from the East Timorese leadership and local community, into which these returnees were welcomed home. I am hopeful that this example of high-level cooperation, also involving the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and other humanitarian agencies, will encourage an increase in overall returns, both organized and spontaneous. From 6 September to date, there have been over 2,200 spontaneous returns. While it would be

premature to declare a trend, this is yet another positive sign.

At the same time, there have been a number of encouraging meetings and contacts in the cause of reconciliation. On 24 October in Surabaya, Indonesia, UNTAET facilitated a first formal meeting between pro-autonomy political leaders, who are federated under an umbrella organization called the Uni Timor Aswain (UNTAS) and the National Council of Timorese Resistance (CNRT). We will be following up on this next week with a second such meeting, in the hope that, through developing these contacts, common ground can be found among East Timorese leaders to aid the process of true reconciliation.

On 14 November my Chief of Staff led a delegation, including representatives of the CNRT and the Armed Forces for the National Liberation of East Timor (FALINTIL), to a border meeting with three of the four senior militia leaders who had addressed petitions to the Security Council, starting with the letter of 14 October addressed to Ambassador Andjaba, who was then President of the Council. Incidentally, the fourth signatory has since backed off from the position adopted in those petitions. This meeting was followed by further contacts with the same three in meetings held in Kupang between them and my Chief of Staff on 19 and 21 November during preparations for the refugee repatriation to which I briefly alluded earlier.

While there have been no definitive results from these discussions, there are signs that the three militia leaders may be able and willing to facilitate the return to East Timor of a large number of refugees, in particular, 6,000 to Baucau and 16,000 to the district of Ainaro. Furthermore, the possibility of these three militia leaders returning to, and peacefully reintegrating into, East Timor, is also under active consideration.

Finally, I should like to say a word about the Joint Border Commission, a mechanism intended to provide a forum for the discussion and resolution of all cross-border issues, the agreement for which I signed with Coordinating Minister Bambang Yudhoyono on 14 September in Denpasar. The latest information, which I received from Dili yesterday evening, is that we now have a date for the first meeting of the Joint Border Commission, which, as the Council knows, has been delayed time and again. It will now take place this coming Thursday, in Jakarta. I have, of course, approved the participation of our delegation in those discussions.

Let me now turn to a few of the key points of the Security Council's mission to East Timor and Indonesia. First of all, the Council has heard me mention before that the availability of resources in the East Timor consolidated budget remains one of the key constraints that we face. I was therefore very pleased by the mission's recommendation that consideration be given to increased flexibility in the use of assessed resources for missions such as UNTAET, and that this was so promptly followed up by a letter from you, Mr. President, to the President of the General Assembly, recommending, through the President of the General Assembly, that the Fifth Committee and the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions exercise such flexibility. I myself discussed the matter with the Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions yesterday morning. I think we all recognize that it is, frankly, absurd for a Transitional Administrator to preside over a United Nations mission that spends 10 assessed dollars on itself for every voluntary dollar spent administering the country for which the Council made it responsible.

As the Security Council Mission has highlighted, the justice sector has been struggling with a serious lack of resources, both financial and human. Progress on bringing to justice those responsible for the serious human rights violations of 1999 has been slower than hoped, and I share the concern that this, in turn, could have a negative impact on efforts towards reconciliation, if justice is not seen to be done.

With this is mind, we have developed a comprehensive strategy to step up investigations into the serious crimes and complete the investigation of all documented cases by December 2001. Our challenge now is to provide the required resources to implement this strategy. I have reallocated funds and materials from other areas within UNTAET, and we have prepared a list of urgent additional resources, both material and personnel, which we will require if our strategy is to be fully realized, and which we will share with all interested donors, starting, obviously, with members of this Council. I urge members to look upon these requests favourably. Furthermore, I welcome the informal suggestion by members of the Security Council Mission to East Timor that short-term SWAT

teams — as it were — of investigators be deployed to bridge the gap. Those teams would be welcome sooner, rather than later, in Dili.

We also remain extremely anxious for the Indonesian judicial process to begin trials as early as possible. I understand from the Attorney-General of Indonesia, Marzuki Darusman, with whom I am in constant telephone contact and who is our partner in the judicial and human rights sphere, that the trials of Eurico Guterres and the suspects in the Atambua murders may begin this year, and that other trials relating to the serious crimes committed in East Timor in 1999 may begin in early 2001, once the ad hoc tribunals on human rights, which were approved by the Indonesian Parliament only two weeks ago, have been established. Needless to say, it is imperative for concrete progress to be seen to be happening in Indonesia in this regard, sooner rather than later.

Infrastructure development, especially outside Dili, remains one of our main challenges. Essential rehabilitation of the roads throughout East Timor is now taking place in anticipation of the rainy season. Power has now been connected to all districts, although limited capacity and the cost of operations mean that service is not full-time. In Dili, rapidly increasing demand, no doubt largely a result of the important international presence, exceeds our output capacity, resulting in regular power outages. To help address these problems, the recent review of the Transitional Administration's budget has been able to free up some $650,000 in additional funds that we intend to use straight away for reconstruction projects outside Dili, as well as $1.6 million for the power authority. There have also been regrettable delays in the implementation of the education and health reconstruction programmes. In short, the extent of East Timor's destruction means that reconstruction will remain an urgent need well beyond independence.

I have sent word to the President of the World Bank, Jim Wolfensohn, which I shall be following up, recommending that the Bank and the United Nations get together in the near future to see what lessons we can learn for the future in accelerating our approval and implementation of key reconstruction projects.

At this juncture, I would also like to take this opportunity to ask the Council to consider favourably the possibility of allowing UNTAET assets, where practical, to remain in East Timor after the mission winds up. I have already mentioned the remarkable disparity in funding between that which goes to the United Nations itself in East Timor and that which goes to the transitional administration of the territory. This would be compounded, and much of the progress that has been made would be set back, were we to remove computers, radio equipment, vehicles and other essential hardware. I also discussed this with the Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions yesterday morning, and he was very sympathetic to our request.

Another crucial element of the transition to independence is defence. Plans for the creation of an East Timor defence force took a major step forward last week in Dili, with the convening of a defence donors' conference, attended by 12 countries. During those deliberations, Australia and Portugal made generous commitments to play the lead role in establishing an initial training programme by January 2001. Several countries expressed interest in providing assistance to strengthen the Office of Defence Force Development, which will ensure civilian oversight. The objective of having a fully trained first battalion of the defence force in place by late 2001 is now well on track.

The East Timor defence force is not, however, expected to be at full strength until the end of 2003. Clearly, a United Nations peacekeeping presence will be required in some form until possibly that date. Such a presence has the full support of the East Timorese leadership. The actual rate at which peacekeepers can be withdrawn from East Timor will ultimately depend on the external security environment, along with the capacity of the East Timor Defence Force to fill the vacuum.

Next week I will be travelling to Brussels, with my East Timorese colleagues, to meet with donors regarding East Timor. There, in a meeting hosted by the European Commission and co-chaired by the World Bank and UNTAET, we will review the progress to date of the reconstruction and rehabilitation activities against performance indicators, as requested at the donors' meeting in Lisbon last June. The meeting will focus on an integrated strategy for transition towards independence.

Among the key issues, the recruitment and development of senior managers in all sectors of the public service remains a major outstanding challenge.

We face significant difficulties in encouraging the skilled diaspora to return to assume these positions, given the consequent drop in living standards that such a sacrifice would entail. Timorization cannot be successfully accomplished without a considerable and sustained investment in capacity-building, a need that will not end with independence. Transition will not only mean the replacement of international staff with East Timorese, but will also have to involve the development of a cadre of technical advisers, recruited not only from international staff, but also from private sector resources.

Another challenge to be discussed in Brussels is the sustainability of public finances. Choosing a sustainable level of public spending is difficult, given the uncertainty over the revenue-raising capacity of the economy. East Timor's single greatest source of revenue is likely to be the petroleum resources in the Timor Sea. Conservative estimates indicate a likely annual revenue from petroleum many times the size of the current East Timor budget, but these are only estimates. Negotiations are now fully under way with Australia on the hugely complex task of establishing a satisfactory regime for the management of petroleum activities in the seas between East Timor and northern Australia.

The continued support of donors in the coming year is vital to the achievement of a successful transition plan.

The process of transition towards independence, which began last year with the popular consultation and subsequently with resolution 1272 (1999), entered a new phase on 23 October this year with the inauguration of the 36-member, all-Timorese National Council. This proto-legislative body was appointed after a broad consultative process, and was designed to ensure representation of the various districts of East Timor, the major political parties, both inside the National Council of Timorese Resistance and outside it, as well as a broad cross-section of civil society.

The Transitional Cabinet, which was created in July, was expanded in October with the addition of Mr. José Ramos-Horta. The creation of this Cabinet and the appointment of the National Council together represent a significant new phase in the transition towards East Timorese rule, one where power is increasingly shared between the Transitional Administrator and broadly selected representatives of East Timorese society. It is my firm view that a successful transition requires that we gradually put executive and legislative power into the hands of the East Timorese, so that the day of independence marks the culmination of a smooth Timorization, a smooth transition, and not the point of a sudden transfer of power.

The political calendar for the final phase of transition, culminating in the democratic election of a legitimate East Timorese Government, has been the subject of intensive discussion with the members of the Cabinet, the National Council and other East Timorese leaders. A number of common understandings have emerged from these discussions. It is not, however, possible to give precise dates at this time, save that we are likely looking towards East Timor declaring its independence at the tail-end of 2001.

The key event next year — most likely in the middle of 2001, depending on the advice of our electoral experts — will be a general election for a constituent assembly, which will have as its task the final drafting and adoption of a constitution. It is not at this stage anticipated that a referendum will be held to ratify the constitution, since the elected constituent assembly will carry full democratic legitimacy. Once the constitution is adopted the constituent assembly will be sworn in as the first parliament. Depending on the process set out in the constitution, elections for a president — assuming a presidential system is chosen — the appointment of a government and the declaration of independence would all take place in the last quarter of 2001.

To assist the constituent assembly, Xanana Gusmão, who is the Speaker of the National Council and the Chairman of the CNRT, has suggested that the National Council establish a special committee on constitutional and electoral affairs, to include National Council members, UNTAET and representatives of East Timorese civil society. This committee would help bring the debate to the people and develop core principles for the constitution for consideration by the elected constituent assembly, which would, therefore, be presented with a preliminary draft text of the constitution.

The Cabinet will this week in Dili begin deliberation on a draft political parties regulation which sets out the conditions for political party registration. Electoral registration, civil registry and

civic education are all now in progress, and we will begin implementation in these three areas early in the new year.

This calendar should make it possible for us to successfully fulfil our mandate and transfer power to a legitimately elected East Timorese Government at the end of 2001. But, of course, there is much more to transition than handing over political power. As the Security Council mission to East Timor and Indonesia has highlighted, the pace and success of the Timorization of the administration is closely linked to our ability to build, in the most qualified East Timorese candidates, the capacities they require in order to succeed. This effort is crucial before transition can be successfully achieved, but will also be required well after independence. The role of the United Nations in East Timor will not end with the last day of UNTAET's mandate. We will clearly be required well into the future in a supporting capacity for technical and security matters, but also in many areas of capacity-building in public administration.

In conclusion, given the current climate of stability, I am hopeful that the security troubles I reported to the Council during my last visit to New York are behind us now, and that we can focus on the successful fulfilment of our mandate over the coming year. I believe we now have the major milestones of the transition to independence in front of us, and I am confident that the remaining steps can be successfully accomplished to ensure a smooth transition in 2001. While political transition is readily achievable, I believe that the long-term success of the transition will depend on a continued engagement of the United Nations and of individual donor countries in support of an independent East Timor into the future.

The President: I thank Mr. Vieira de Mello for his very interesting briefing.

Ms. Soderberg (United States of America): Most of the members of the mission that was recently in East Timor are here with us today, and, on behalf of us all, I would like to reiterate our strong appreciation to the Special Representative, as well as to his team, for what I think we all believe was a useful visit. I was not on the first mission, but those who were came back impressed and gratified by the work that you, Mr. Vieira de Mello, had done over the past year. I think we all want to extend extreme gratitude for your efforts there, as well as for the impressive gains of the people of East Timor. It is a rare partnership to witness, and it is a privilege to watch a nation being created. It makes all of us proud to be part of the United Nations system that is at work there. We saw the cabinet meetings and the rebuilding that is going on. Seeing the conditions on the ground, I think, also makes us appreciate the personal sacrifices that you and your colleagues are making on the ground month after month. On behalf of us all, I want to express our deepest appreciation for your hard work and sacrifices every day on the ground.

Mr. Vieira de Mello, the fact that we were there a couple of weeks ago and that you are here today shows the importance of continued dialogue between the Security Council and your Mission. You are off, literally, at the other end of the world, about as far as one can get from New York. Your success is also your burden, because it is not on the front page of the newspaper every day. I think it is important for us to see things on the ground, but it is also important for you to know that you have a ready ear here. This is not an easy situation; there are still dangers. We like to think, "Well, Sergio is there, so we don't have to worry about it". But that is not fair to you or to the people of East Timor. So I am glad that you are here, and I hope you feel that you have a ready ear here at any time you want.

The issues that you have discussed, as well as those in our report, raise some key issues. I will not go into them in great detail, since most of them are covered in our report. But one that I think perhaps deserves to be highlighted is the need to begin now to plan for the role of the international community after independence. Not only do we have a lot of work to do to make sure that, whatever timetable is established for the independence of East Timor, you have the resources during that transition; but also, I think one of the messages from our mission to the region is that clearly the international community is going to have to remain engaged. I think your visit here is well timed to begin to define the parameters of that presence.

We will be renewing the mandate of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) at the beginning of next year, and your visit here today, Mr. Vieira de Mello, begins to lay out the milestones we will need to address in order to begin to ensure that the international community is there for the post-independence period as well. I think all of us would like to emphasize as strongly as possible the

importance of beginning that planning now. For this reason, I think your visit is particularly well-timed.

The term "UNTAET light" was used during our mission there, and that means we have to look at the various components of UNTAET in terms of not only its political aspects, but its security aspects as well. I think you have done yeoman work, Mr. Vieira de Mello, in trying to lay the groundwork for that. The security presence there has already had a fair amount of work done on it. There was the international conference in which the international community, including the United States, participated; and defining financial, technical and security assistance is going to be crucial.

The other point I wish to make from the United States standpoint, and which is most important to us, is the process of justice and reconciliation. All of the post-independence questions will be greatly affected by how well the process of justice and reconciliation is addressed today. I think I speak for my colleagues who were with me on the mission in saying that the key to ensuring UNTAET's success, as well as the success of the independence of the people of East Timor, is to put the dual track of reconciliation and justice on a progressive path that achieves both in a symbiotic fashion.

In West Timor, we certainly heard repeated concerns from the refugees about the conditions on the ground in East Timor. They had sent their families back and had not heard from them. Rumours and misinformation created legitimate fears within the community. Having just been to East Timor, we were able to reassure them that we were convinced that the people of East Timor would welcome the refugees back, that they would be treated well and with respect, as long as there was a process of justice to ensure the people of East Timor that their need for justice was taken care of.

Without this process of justice, we will not get the appropriate reconciliation to solve the problems. One of the most important aspects we came away with was the need to make sure that UNTAET and the East Timorese system have the capability to investigate crimes and to conduct prosecutions. The plan that you brought with you here, Mr. Vieira de Mello, and presented to us on the process of justice is, I think, very important and timely. We are already reviewing it, and I certainly hope that we will be able to look favourably on your request for the SWAT teams of assistance, as well as staff and equipment. Unless you can have a functioning judicial system, all of the other wheels of progress will be much squeakier.

As we look at this issue, I think we have to make sure that we do not have bureaucratic inertia that could cause some of these resources to be underutilized. I think we need to continue to work within the United Nations system to make sure that these requests can be dealt with urgently and efficiently.

In addition to ensuring that the UNTAET process and the East Timorese process work, it is equally fundamental to make sure that the Government of Indonesia fulfils its responsibilities on these issues, as outlined in Security Council resolution 1319 (2000). The principal points relating to justice are still germane. Further decisive action is necessary to deal with the remaining militias. Those responsible for the murders of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees staff, as well as for the killing of two United Nations peacekeepers, must be brought to justice; and there must be a process of accountability to address the human rights violations of 1999.

While we were in Jakarta, we had very productive meetings with a number of Government officials, and they briefed us on the progress. We all urged strong action in Jakarta to establish the ad hoc tribunals, which are critical to ensuring that the process of justice moves forward.

It has been over a year since the violence of 1999, and the international community has a responsibility to help ensure that justice is done. We all hope that the Government of Indonesia will fulfil these responsibilities with appropriate urgency.

The second issue I wish to highlight is that of disbandment of the militias. This is a crucial process of justice, and the Government must fulfil its responsibilities in that respect. We were in several of the camps, and I think that the militias' continued presence in those camps, their hold on the camps and some of the decisions of the people are impeding the process of return. As we wrote in our report, I think it is useful to recall here that we all stress the need for decisive action to deal with the remaining militias, and, in particular, the leaders, to put an end to their activities once and for all, inter alia, through ongoing disarmament operations, the separation of militia

leaders and of those engaging in intimidation from refugee communities and the expeditious prosecution of militia leaders for the serious crimes they have committed. Progress on these issues is crucial for the success of all that the United Nations is trying to do in East Timor.

Lastly, the issue of return is one that has been a large focus of the international community and the Government of Indonesia as well. There must be a credible, apolitical, internationally observed refugee registration and return programme. There have been some encouraging developments on this front in recent weeks with the ad hoc return of 400 former TNI and civil servants (MILSAS), in addition to the discussions going on with the militias that had written to the President of the Security Council. Those discussions and returns could potentially trigger other significant returns, which I think we would all welcome and view as a significant way to address the problem. They do not, however, in any way mitigate the need for the international community to be present in West Timor under appropriate security conditions.

During our visit we had good discussions on trying to enable a classic United Nations security staff to go and review the situation, and we are hopeful that that will occur so that the international community can return to West Timor in full force.

I will leave one or two questions on the table for the Special Representative.

One of our key discussions in Jakarta was to try to urge that the Joint Border Commission meet as quickly as possible. We are pleased that the Commission will be meeting on Thursday and urge that the meetings be regular and at the senior level. One of the clear impressions that we came away with was the need for very regular and constant discussions and the need for better sources of information. Clearly, the Border Commission is key, so we should do anything we can to help on that front.

The other issue concerns the joint commissions that are dealing with some other key bilateral matters, in particular the pensions, which are of key importance for the return of the refugees. Perhaps Mr. Vieira de Mello has some additional information on what is happening on that front.

I think all of us came away with the sense that the back-and-forth discussions on development of working relationships so that there is mutual understanding on both sides would be key to moving forward, and certainly these various committees are essential in order to accomplish that.

Let me thank you again for a very useful visit, Mr. Vieira de Mello, but, most importantly, for the work that you are doing on behalf of all of us to let the people of East Timor achieve their independence.

Mr. Andjaba (Namibia): I wish to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, for being with the Council today to discuss with us the work of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET). I also wish to thank him for the useful briefing he has given us, as well as for the excellent hospitality and cooperation extended to the mission during our visit to East Timor.

The report of the mission covers a wide range of activities of UNTAET and correctly states that UNTAET has made significant progress so far. It should therefore receive continuing support from the Security Council. An ideal opportunity to address some of the concerns raised in the report and by Mr. Vieira de Mello today would be presented by the renewal of the UNTAET mandate in January. Similarly, it is hoped that progress can be made by other bodies of the United Nations to remove procedural impediments hampering the work of the Transitional Administration, especially in providing it with the necessary resources.

With regard to the performance of UNTAET's mandate, my delegation is particularly pleased by the Timorization process and capacity-building to prepare the people of East Timor for full independence.

The National Council and Cabinet, together with the Transitional Administration, are now charged with the important task of preparing for the electoral process. Mr. Vieira de Mello deserves credit for most of this.

The full results of this process will, however, be most visible after the transitional process, when the new government will have to function immediately and fully and will have to cope with the many different challenges.

My delegation supports an international presence in East Timor upon independence, in particular in the areas of development, security and law and order. It is important that specific planning be started as soon as

possible. In this regard, we welcome the strong commitment made by donors last week for the training and equipping of an East Timorese defence force.

The situation of refugees in West Timor and justice and reconciliation remain critical concerns. My delegation hopes that the recommendations contained in the report, as well as the undertakings expressed during the mission's visit, can be taken forward with the urgency they deserve. This is particularly necessary for creating security for the return of refugees and the return of humanitarian agencies. We welcome the repatriation of the ex-TNI reservists (MILSAS) and their families and strongly encourage more such group repatriations.

The Government of Indonesia should be assisted in its efforts to receive the refugees wishing to stay in Indonesia, since this is an important element in solving the overall refugee problem.

My delegation welcomes the considerable progress made by the Government of Indonesia in taking the justice process forward, in particular by arresting suspects and in passing the human rights legislation. Again, we trust that further progress will soon be achieved.

My delegation reiterates the importance of the proposals in the report aimed at enforcing the existing measures of cooperation between East Timor and Indonesia and welcomes the undertakings already made in this regard. We also strongly encourage building bilateral future relations between East Timor and Indonesia, and efforts already under way should be expanded.

I am glad to learn today from Mr. Vieira de Mello that the meeting of the Joint Border Commission will take place on Thursday.

In conclusion, East Timor is well on its way to full independence, and all that is required is continued support by the international community. In the same way, outstanding issues, such as refugees, justice and reconciliation, can be resolved. What is required is for all the parties to work together to see how best to implement the various recommendations in the report.

Mr. Eldon (United Kingdom): I find myself deeply relieved to be speaking after the leader of our mission to East Timor and Indonesia. I would like, though, to take a moment of our time to put on public record my appreciation as a member of the mission for the way in which Ambassador Andjaba led the team. It was not only useful; it was great fun. You are welcome, Ambassador Andjaba, to lead a third mission to East Timor and Indonesia if you have the time and stamina.

I would also like to express my appreciation to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for yet another extremely useful, extremely comprehensive and extremely interesting briefing. As Mr. Vieira de Mello has said, we are now at a pivotal time for the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and for East Timor, and it is very appropriate that the Security Council should spend some public time today discussing the issue.

I will not attempt a comprehensive round-up. Others have done that before me and much better than me. However, I do want to highlight a number of points of interest to the United Kingdom, and I want to come at it from a slightly different direction from other statements in this debate so far and to approach the complex of issues, in a sense, the other way around.

One of the abiding impressions that I came away with from the mission's visit was how much East Timor and Indonesia, in a sense, depend on each other. It is vitally important that the relationship between the two become full-blooded, comprehensive, fruitful and productive. Many of the mechanisms already exist to facilitate that exchange. I hope that over the next few weeks and months both sides will put renewed impetus into their cooperation.

It is very good news that a date for the meeting of the Joint Border Commission has been set for — if I have it right — 30 November. We look forward to further meetings of the Commission in December — perhaps at the level of plenipotentiary, since I understand that this week's meeting will be at what I may call the director level.

It is very important that that framework should be used to the full. It is very important that it and other avenues for cooperation are used to reach a speedy resolution of some of the issues outlined in the mission's report. I would particularly mention in this regard, as Ambassador Soderberg has done, pensions, which will be of fundamental importance to stabilizing the future East Timorese economy, and the question of the Oecussi enclave and the need for a fully negotiated transit arrangement to provide access between East Timor and Oecussi in perpetuity.

I would like now to turn to West Timor and the refugee situation there. The mission's observations are well set out in its report, and I do not want to repeat them here. But I do want to say two things. First, it is clear that the militias, in whatever form, remain a problem. I very much welcome the determination of Coordinating Minister Yudhoyono to come to grips with the problem of intimidation in the refugee camps, and we look forward to his further information to the Council about the steps that the Government of Indonesia is taking in this regard. It is a vitally important element in what is really a very complex jigsaw.

My second point is to underline the importance of the return of international relief agencies to West Timor. This can be done only when the security situation stabilizes to the point where it makes a return sustainable, and a decision on whether that point has been reached can only be for the United Nations to take. For this reason my delegation attaches considerable priority to a visit by United Nations security experts to West Timor. As others have said, this is a perfectly normal part of the procedure for taking decisions on the presence of United Nations agencies in areas where security has been bad. We hope that that visit can happen soon.

Once the United Nations agencies have been able to return — assuming the outcome of the United Nations security team's discussions is positive — it will be very important to maintain a high state of vigilance on all sides to ensure that appropriate action can be taken if the situation deteriorates and that proper links and cooperation are maintained between the United Nations agencies and the Indonesian authorities, and others with an interest in this matter.

It is particularly important to get the international agencies back because, while ad hoc returns such as the MILSAS group — ex-TNI reservists from East Timor — to which Mr. Vieira de Mello has referred are extremely welcome, there is going to be no substitute for a proper and properly internationally observed registration process for the refugees. That is the best possible guarantee that we can all have that they are able to take decisions about their own future without threat or coercion and in safety. It must be a high priority objective for us all.

I would now like to turn to East Timor, reversing the order as I have done. Mr. Vieira de Mello's remarks are well-taken and very helpful. I particularly note what he had to say about the area of justice and the investigation of serious crimes, which was indeed a key priority for the mission during its visit. We look forward to receiving the details regarding the resources that UNTAET needs and will look at them carefully. But I want to say that given the crucial importance of justice and reconciliation in the whole process of refugee return in East Timor, it is most important that the policy on justice and serious crimes reflects the national consensus among the East Timorese. I know that UNTAET will take steps to ensure that the two things become congruent. It is going to take a lot longer than independence to sort out the question of responsibility and accountability for the events of 1999, and it is very important that that process should go smoothly.

The key next step is clearly going to be the donors' meeting in Brussels next week. We would see four main issues for that meeting. Again, they are broadly congruent with the points that Mr. Vieira de Mello has concentrated on this morning.

The first issue pertains to continued improvements in the pace of rehabilitation and reconstruction. I listened carefully to what the Special Representative said about UNTAET leaving things behind when it moves on. I think that that is an extremely useful and practical observation to be making at this stage. Like other speakers, I hope that the General Assembly will give early consideration to the questions that the Special Representative has raised about the use of assessed contributions. Clearly, the cardinal principle that assessed contributions should not be used to fund capital- and development-related expenditure is enshrined for very good reason. But equally there is a good case in situations like that of UNTAET to implement the rules with good sense and with flexibility. We hope that it will be possible to reach a modus vivendi on these lines, which allow some of the essential requirements to be met.

The second priority for the Brussels meeting is a clear strategy and timetable for the political transition in East Timor. We have been one of those who have emphasized the importance of charting out a course to independence at various stages in various Council discussions. It should not be too fast, it should not be too slow, but it should be workable and it should carry with it the clear ownership of the Timorese people. We

hope that the discussions in Brussels will provide clarity on this point.

The third priority will be Timorization. Here, I think the process is going well, but I hope that it will be possible to take further steps to address some of the problems that have occurred so far, particularly in the area of recruiting senior government servants.

Finally, there is the consolidated budget, which in turn will reflect East Timor's long-term sustainability and on which I listened carefully to what the Special Representative had to say about the sources of resources for the Timorese economy in the longer term. Some ballpark decisions on what is supportable and what is sustainable will have to be taken soon in order, not least, to chart out the need for development and international assistance over the next few years. Here, I want to endorse Ambassador Andjaba's point very strongly. It is clear that there will be a need for a substantial United Nations presence in East Timor after independence. It is equally clear that we should begin to start thinking about that now and I hope that it will be possible for the Secretariat and the Secretary-General to let us have at least some preliminary indications of the way this thinking is going at the time of the UNTAET mandate renewal next year.

I have spoken for long enough. Suffice it to say that I hope the Council will soon be able to take some action to formally enshrine the conclusions of the mission's report. The United Kingdom will make its own contribution to that process and I hope we shall be able to bring something to fruition very soon.

Mr. Kuchynski (Ukraine): I, too, would like to join previous speakers in thanking the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, for his comprehensive briefing. It adds new elements and new information to the report of the Security Council mission. We take great pleasure in seeing Mr. Vieira de Mello at this gathering.

I would also like to use this opportunity to thank Mr. Vieira de Mello for the hospitality accorded to the Security Council mission in East Timor throughout its visit and for his tremendous personal contribution and efforts in making the mission a success.

I want also to pay tribute to the leader of the mission, Ambassador Andjaba, for his discrete but highly efficient leadership of the mission.

During the visit, the members of the mission noted with satisfaction that Mr. Vieira de Mello is doing a great job efficiently and effectively heading the outpost of the Security Council in East Timor. We wish to pay a special tribute to the work of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), which has made remarkable progress in implementing its mandate. We are encouraged by the significant success of UNTAET in laying the foundations for a smooth transition to independence and for the future statehood of East Timor.

My delegation notes with satisfaction the acceleration of the process of Timorization of the Administration. We are glad to know that a number of Timorese District or Deputy District Administrators have already been appointed, while legislative responsibility is now exercised through the all-Timorese National Council and executive power by a Transitional Cabinet comprising five Timorese and four internationals. It is particularly important, in our view, that Sergio Vieira de Mello has established a close relationship with East Timorese political elite.

We believe that the establishment of an East Timorese defence force would be a logical step on the road to independence.

Of course, there are difficulties, as has already been mentioned, in particular in the establishment of a fully functional judicial system, which remains seriously under-resourced. In this respect, we commend the efforts of the Special Representative to find a way out of this predicament.

We are pleased to note that the overall security situation in East Timor has become relatively stable. In this regard, the efforts of UNTAET in addressing the security threat posed by the infiltration of militias from West Timor are highly commendable. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the return of refugees from West Timor to East Timor remains a serious problem faced by UNTAET. The number of refugees in the camps in West Timor is still very high, estimated at 120,000. The situation in the camps in West Timor, in particular the depressing living conditions, remains a cause of great concern. We think that, in the present situation, it is important to ensure the safe return of international humanitarian organizations and agencies to West Timor. Unfortunately, the repatriation and relocation of refugees is complicated by the activity of

the militias, which continue to intimidate and to spread misinformation in the camps.

It is clear that the recent problems of the refugee crisis and the security threat posed by the presence of militias are closely interrelated and mixed up in a mass of contradictions, which need to be resolved. The solution to these problems will pave the way to the settlement of other key issues facing UNTAET, in particular reconciliation and ensuring stable political and economic development for East Timor. We are convinced that, in the circumstances, the Security Council, UNTAET and the Government of Indonesia should continue giving priority to these matters by coordinating and complementing each other's efforts. I would like to note the good relationship of the Special Representative with the Government of Indonesia, which facilitates fruitful dialogue.

We are encouraged by the measures taken by the Indonesian Government to assist the refugees to return to East Timor and to resettle those who want to stay in Indonesia. We positively note the decisive steps taken by the Government of Indonesia towards putting an end to the militias' activities and towards their disarmament and disbandment, as well as the efforts of Indonesia to bring to justice the perpetrators of serious crimes committed in East Timor. The arrest of militia leader Guterres and those charged with perpetrating the tragedy in Atambua is a positive development. We welcome the recent adoption of Indonesian legislation for the establishment of a human rights tribunal. Our meetings with the Coordinating Minister for Political, Social and Security Affairs, Mr. Yudhoyono, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Shihab, reaffirmed their understanding that it was in the interest of Indonesia to settle these problems as soon as possible.

In conclusion, let me assure you, Sir, and the Special Representative that my country remains a strong supporter of UNTAET activities. We are also ready to continue our support for the peacekeeping efforts of the United Nations in the region by extending Ukraine's participation in UNTAET.

Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh): We thank you, Mr. President, for scheduling this meeting on the situation in East Timor. I welcome once again in our midst Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative of the Secretary General. We very much appreciate his focused, informative and useful briefing on the latest developments in East Timor and his projections for the future of the territory.

A week back we had the report from the Council mission to East Timor and Indonesia (S/2000/1105). Let me once again express the appreciation of Bangladesh to Ambassador Andjaba and other members of the Security Council mission for a very useful undertaking. Ambassador Andjaba for the second time has shown wise and effective leadership of the Council's missions to the troubled territory. We owe him a special debt of gratitude.

With regard to the mission's visit to Indonesia, we feel there was a clear need for Council members to see for themselves the result of the efforts of the Government of Indonesia and also to discuss how the Council could work together with the Government to find a solution to the issues raised in its resolution 1319 (2000).

We were pleased to receive the 10 November report of the Indonesian Government on follow-up of the Council mission, to be issued as document S/2000/1125. We welcome the commitments made by that Government in various areas of concern, and we look forward to their effective realization.

On East Timor, we get a clear message from the report of the mission, confirmed by Mr. Vieira de Mello in his presentation this morning. That message relates to the need for an international presence in East Timor for some time after the territory's independence. In other areas too there will be a need for a strong international commitment of financial and technical assistance. The recommendation of the report about reallocating a part of the peacekeeping assessed budget to training the local police force points in a similar direction: if we do not do it now, the need for maintaining an international police force will be even greater. The judiciary is under-resourced and cannot cope with the demands placed on it. Delivering justice, in respect not only of petty crimes but also of the serious ones committed in the wake of the referendum last year is very important. In short, the whole issue of capacity-building requires more attention and resources. We can all agree that this is a tall order for the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET).

The issue of slow disbursement of funds has been raised by Council members in the past. Given the urgency with which reconstruction must be pursued,

we agree with the recommendation that, for UNTAET, increased budgetary flexibility should be granted to facilitate execution of its mandate. We therefore support all the recommendations that were made in the Council mission's report in that regard. We are happy at the robust and decisive action of UNTAET peacekeepers has succeeded in reducing militia violence in East Timor. We also share the satisfaction of the mission with regard to the progress made so far by UNTAET in the implementation of its mandate.

The refugee issue remains a great cause of concern. We are happy to note that Indonesian ministers assured the mission of their Government's commitment to resolving that issue. Moreover, in the Indonesian Government report to which I referred earlier, that Government reaffirmed its intention to work closely with the relevant agencies, including the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) to prepare for registration of refugees as a matter of urgency.

Problems that still stand in the way are continued militia intimidation and extortion of refugees in camps, lack of information about conditions in East Timor and ensuring a safe and secure working environment for humanitarian and aid agencies, enabling them to return. We believe that the discussions held during the Council mission will help the Government to redouble its efforts to achieve the declared objectives. In that regard, we agree with the report's recommendation that the Government and UNTAET should work together. Recent repatriation of refugees from among ex-Indonesian armed forces reservists from East Timor (MILSAS) is an example that points in the right direction. It shows that with the right steps taken by all sides, the refugees need not languish in the camps for an indefinite period.

We support the idea of reinvigorating the bilateral talks between the Government of Indonesia and UNTAET. We welcome the efforts of the Indonesian Government in preventing cross-border incursions into East Timor. Cooperation between the Indonesian armed forces and police and their counterparts in UNTAET is essential to minimize cross-border incidents. We welcome the setting up of the Joint Border Commission in that regard. We further welcome the adoption of recent Indonesian legislation for the establishment of a human rights tribunal which would help in the process of delivering justice in cases of gross human rights abuses and of murders of United Nations personnel.

The issue of justice and reconciliation has been emphasized many times over in the report and in statements made today. We agree with that focus; this issue has important implications for the future of the territory. It is also linked with other problem areas. The difficulty is to have justice delivered speedily in cases of known violence; this, we expect, would have a positive impact on national reconciliation. National reconciliation, or at least its local manifestation, is an important factor in speeding up refugee repatriation. It is important that this is understood in the right perspective by both the East Timorese people and those they will reconcile with. We hope that both sides will adequately support the good work of UNTAET in this area. We strongly feel that the foundation of durable and peaceful relations between the territory and Indonesia lies in harmonious relations between the peoples of East Timor and of West Timor. That should be the objective of all endeavours.

In Mr. Vieira de Mello's presentation, we identified five areas which we believe should be supported by the Council. The first relates to reconstruction. I think Mr. Vieira de Mello's consultations with the World Bank are very appropriate in that regard; we also look forward to the Brussels meeting next week.

The second relates to the UNTAET assets to be retained in East Timor, particularly essential hardware. We believe that the proposal made by Mr. Vieira de Mello is of great importance; the Council should act upon it. We would ask the Secretariat also to work with all relevant agencies and bodies to ensure that it is implemented and that the assets remain in East Timor.

The third has to do with the pace of withdrawal of UNTAET troops. We agree with Mr. Vieira de Mello that this will depend basically on the security situation and on capacity-building in East Timor. We would like to see appropriate follow-up on that.

The fourth is the process of Timorization through capacity-building. Mr. Vieira de Mello said that this should not end with the independence of the territory, and I think that it is very important that the Council bear this in mind — and not only the Council: I believe that subsequently the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council will be involved in development activities in East Timor.

The final point relates to a smooth transition by the end of 2001 through an effective process of Timorization, with executive and legislative power handed over to the East Timorese people. We believe that to be an important matter that should be borne in mind.

We look forward to the expected general elections to a constituent assembly, which should take place by mid-2001. We hope that the United Nations will be present in East Timor well into the future, as Mr. Vieira de Mello says it must be. We look forward to the Council's involvement in that process.

Mr. Cappagli (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): First of all, I would like to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Vieira de Mello, for the full briefing he has just given us. I would also like to thank Ambassador Andjaba for his excellent and skilful leadership of the Council's mission.

As a member of the Security Council mission that recently visited East Timor and Indonesia, I was able to see the excellent work done by Mr. Vieira de Mello and his team. The progress made in implementing resolution 1272 (1999) has been remarkable. On behalf of Argentina, I would therefore like once again to extend our thanks and appreciation to all the personnel of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and to the tireless and dynamic Transitional Administrator for East Timor, who have been the driving force behind the amazing transformation in East Timor this year.

There is no need to enumerate the excellent initiatives taken and the achievements made by UNTAET. The Special Representative of the Secretary-General described some of them in his briefing. Similarly, the report of the Security Council mission also highlights some of those accomplishments. Nevertheless, we must not underestimate the current problems in areas such as reconstruction and the administration of justice, nor should we underestimate the magnitude of the challenges that will arise pending the full independence of the territory. The commitment of the international community to East Timor must therefore remain unchanged and continue even beyond independence.

The Security Council mission was also able to assess the implementation of resolution 1319 (2000), particularly in the western part of the island of Timor. In this connection, we attach particular priority to three issues: resolving the refugee problem; improving security conditions, especially with regard to disarming and dissolving militias; and establishing a process that will culminate in bringing to justice those responsible for the violence in East Timor in 1999 and those responsible for the recent murder of international humanitarian personnel working for UNTAET.

We consider the recent adoption of human rights legislation and the proposal to establish ad hoc courts in that regard to be significant advances. While we welcome the initiatives taken by the Government of Indonesia in those three areas, we also believe that additional measures, such as those described in the mission's report, should be taken. In that connection, we trust that the positive approach taken by the authorities in Jakarta will be reflected in concrete action that will yield definitive solutions to the problems I have mentioned.

We are pleased that the Joint Border Commission will meet next Thursday in Jakarta; that there was recently a return to East Timor of a significant number of refugees, including former Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) reservists from East Timor (MILSAS); and that there was a decision by the Indonesian authorities to solve the problem of pensions.

Mr. Heinbecker (Canada) (*spoke in French*): I begin by expressing the Canadian Government's gratitude for the excellent work Mr. Vieira de Mello has been doing, and continues to do, in East Timor. We are pleased that the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) has succeeded in reducing militia activity in East Timor.

(*spoke in English*)

We are encouraged by the return in recent weeks of some 400 refugees from West Timor. We note that UNTAET has developed appropriate contingency plans, in coordination with humanitarian agencies, for a significant return of refugees. In that regard, we note that the Government of Indonesia has created a task force to develop registration projects. We endorse the Council mission's conclusion that to be credible those exercises must be free from pro-integration influence and include international personnel.

We agree with the emphasis Mr. Vieira de Mello has placed on the development of a national police force and on increasing judicial capacity. We are

pleased that the Fifth Committee has informally agreed with the Secretary-General's proposal to strengthen those components within the assessed UNTAET budget. We look forward to the review of the needs of the justice sector in East Timor, and agree that more should be done on the basis of assessed resources, given the scope of UNTAET's mandate.

We are pleased that arrests have been made in relation to the murder of the three personnel of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Atambua on 6 September, and that Indonesia has recently adopted legislation in support of a national human rights tribunal.

I have one specific question for Mr. Vieira de Mello. How does he assess prospects for an agreement between the Government of Indonesia and UNTAET on transit arrangements between the Oecussi enclave and East Timor?

Mr. Wang Yingfan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I first wish to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Vieira de Mello, for his briefing. I am sorry that I did not hear it, but his briefings are always very useful and important.

We express our appreciation to the Security Council mission for the progress it made in its visit to West Timor. In its report the mission has made a number of recommendations that merit our attention and positive consideration.

In the course of the past year the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) has made marked progress in various areas of its work, especially with regard to participation by East Timorese in their political affairs. Many administrative departments have rapidly achieved Timorization. The development of the situation is encouraging. Of course, quite a number of problems remain in the areas of reconstruction, justice and administration, requiring the continued assistance and support of the international community.

We support the efforts of the international community to help East Timor achieve independence. In the light of the actual situation, it will still be necessary after independence for the international community to continue to provide the necessary assistance to East Timor so that the East Timorese people may truly achieve self-governance, in keeping with their own aspirations.

In its report, the Council's mission recommended a follow-on presence of the United Nations in East Timor. That recommendation is forward-looking, and we hope that UNTAET will continue to carry out an in-depth study in this regard, while fully respecting the opinions of East Timorese, so as to attain the understanding and support of the people of East Timor and to enable the efforts of the international community to yield the expected results.

With regard to the question of West Timor, we welcome the progress made in disarming and disbanding militias, investigating perpetrators of crimes, and finding a lasting settlement of the question of refugees. We hope the international community will provide support and encouragement to the Indonesian Government in the actions it has taken in order to enhance its capacity to solve problems. We also wish to express our deepest sympathies over the tragic situation in refugee camps in West Timor. We hope the Indonesian Government will take the necessary measures to improve the security environment and create the necessary favourable conditions for the return of international personnel to work with refugees.

We also believe that given the gradual improvement in the security situation, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other international agencies should, as soon as possible, return to West Timor to provide assistance to the refugees, who are badly in need of help.

We also note that the Security Council mission presented a number of recommendations in these areas. The implementation of these recommendations cannot be carried out without the understanding and cooperation of Indonesia, especially as concerns the dispatch of security experts to West Timor and the payment of pensions. We hope that UNTAET can further enhance communications and consultation with the Indonesian Government.

Finally, I wish to express our appreciation and support for Mr. Vieira de Mello and UNTAET for the considerable amount of work they have done. The Chinese Government will, through bilateral and multilateral channels, continue to provide assistance to East Timor to the extent of its ability.

Mr. Hasmy (Malaysia): My delegation thanks Mr. Vieira de Mello for the candid, focused and comprehensive briefing he has given us just now.

Malaysia values greatly the progress made so far by the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and congratulates the Special Representative for his leadership and tireless efforts in spite of the many challenges that he faces. We also pay tribute to all of his colleagues and to the entire staff of UNTAET.

As a member of the Council's recent mission to East Timor, led by Ambassador Martin Andjaba, to whom I pay tribute, I am impressed with the positive results achieved thus far by UNTAET. These include the increased involvement of the East Timorese in creating and building institutions of governance, the cooperation which has been developed between UNTAET and the Government of Indonesia, and the commitments received from the international community in support of East Timor's reconstruction and rehabilitation process.

As we heard from Mr. Vieira de Mello this morning, UNTAET is Timorizing its administration, working with the East Timorese leadership to develop a timetable for the drafting of a constitution, the setting up of elections, and the achievement of independence. However, as has been indicated by Mr. Vieira de Mello himself, this progress has not always been smooth. We do not underestimate either the current difficulties in areas such as reconstruction and administration of justice, or the enormity of the challenges that remain before independence, which is currently projected for the latter half of 2001. The active involvement of the international community, including the Council, remains indispensable.

Like other Council members, we remain concerned at the plight of refugees still living in the camps in West Timor. We are appreciative of the efforts made thus far, which will allow the speedy return of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other agencies to camps in West Timor. In this regard, we welcome the commitment made by the Government of Indonesia to cooperate with the United Nations and other international agencies, which will enable UNHCR and other humanitarian workers to return to West Timor.

We look forward to the early evaluation of the security situation, so as to expedite the early return of these international workers. We also agree that all stages of the recent process must be carried out in safety and security, and that the process of registering remaining East Timor refugees should begin expeditiously.

Malaysia continues to place a high priority on the emergence of a future independent East Timor that is stable and secure and has good relations with Indonesia and its other neighbours. We believe that the future peace and stability of East Timor will depend on full and early reconciliation, not only among the people of East Timor themselves but also between East Timor and its immediate and important neighbour, Indonesia. We therefore welcome the efforts being made by the Special Representative in this direction. We also acknowledge the positive and constructive efforts and role of Indonesia in this regard.

In the context of national reconciliation — that is, reconciliation among the East Timorese themselves — the issue of justice must be appropriately addressed, as there will be no genuine or lasting reconciliation without justice. This issue will most probably be fully addressed by the leadership of an independent East Timor, but UNTAET can play an important role in paving the way for that process. My delegation is pleased to note that UNTAET has, in fact, initiated important steps in that direction, in terms of both facilitating reconciliation talks and strengthening East Timor's capacity to deal with the issue of meting out justice. The international community and the Council must continue to support these efforts as well as other efforts undertaken by UNTAET.

We share the Council's resolute tone in condemning the crimes committed against United Nations personnel. In this regard, we welcome the serious efforts being made by the Indonesian Government, including the recent passage of an important human rights law to address this issue in a more expeditious fashion.

Last week, the Council heard from the leader of the Council mission, Ambassador Andjaba, who apprised us of the results of the mission's trip to the region. The observations and findings of the mission are clear and unambiguous and give us hope that progress can be made on the speedy implementation of resolution 1272 (1999) and 1319 (2000), respectively. We are gratified that the visit of the mission has had an overall positive impact, particularly as concerns the issue of refugee return to East Timor. We are pleased to note that last Wednesday, more than 400 refugees returned to East Timor, the first to do so since the

6 September Atambua incident. It is our hope that this will mark a turning point.

Our efforts to overcome the immediate challenges that we have stressed today must lead to our long-term goal of successful and peaceful nation-building in East Timor. We urge the international community to continue to support UNTAET, so that the progress achieved over the past 13 months will be sustained. In this respect, Malaysia would like to reiterate its continued commitment to cooperate to the best of its ability with UNTAET and the people of East Timor in their efforts to build a peaceful and democratic nation.

Finally, my delegation is favourably disposed towards many of the proposals and suggestions made by Mr. Vieira de Mello during his presentation this morning. As in the past, we wish to assure him of our continuing and sustained support for all of his efforts.

Mr. Granovsky (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We, too, would like to express our gratitude to Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello for his comprehensive briefing. Russia deeply appreciates the work he is doing as Special Representative of the Secretary-General and head of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET).

Today's meeting underlines an important stage in the development of events in East Timor. In this connection, we are pleased to note the largely successful results achieved by UNTAET during the first year its work. UNTAET has made noticeable progress towards the achievement of its goals by helping to move the territory towards a comprehensive form of self-determination. UNTAET has done very important work in preparing for the forthcoming elections, be it in the area of practical matters such as the registration of the East Timor population or in the area of a detailed discussion of what kind of election should take place first.

Finally, we note some progress in preparing the East Timor defence forces. We believe all these positive signs give us grounds for optimism with regard to developments in East Timor.

Together with other Council members, the Russian delegation expresses its satisfaction with the successful Security Council mission to Indonesia and East Timor. We feel that it made a specific contribution to ensuring peace and security in that region of the world. One of the most acute problems in resolving the East Timor situation continues to be the situation of refugee camps in West Timor and the activities of the pro-integrationist militias. Unfortunately, we must note that the militia is continuing to persecute and intimidate the refugees, and consequently they are not yet free to choose. We are counting on the Indonesian authorities to take measures to resolve these problems.

At the same time, we have drawn attention to Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello's assessment of certain progress made in the area of repatriation. We hope that this trend will be strengthened. We have also wish to draw attention to the fact that in the Security Council mission's report and in Mr. Vieira de Mello's briefing repeated reference has been made to cooperation with the Indonesian Government. We think this is a very important point, one that supports the theory that success, whether of the Security Council mission or, in broader terms, in resolving the situation in East Timor as a whole, should be based on constructive cooperation with Indonesia.

Mr. Jerandi (Tunisia) (*spoke in French*): I also wish to thank Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello for his visit to New York and for the briefing he just gave us on the progress made and on his future plans. I also wish to thank Ambassador Andjaba, the leader of our mission, for the manner in which he managed the Security Council mission and led discussions and contacts with all the parties we met with. It was successful on more than one count. Above all, thanks to the understanding and cooperation of all parties, it made it possible to begin a constructive dialogue and to clarify the course to be followed for the future of the subregion.

The Security Council mission's visit to East Timor, at the invitation of Mr. Vieira de Mello, and to Indonesia, at the invitation of the Indonesian Government, was thus positive, and it will enable us, we hope, to move ahead in the gradual and smooth resolution of certain aspects of the situation in order to pacify that region and strengthen peace and security there. In that context, a point of paramount importance that must be emphasized, in my delegation's view, is the will of the Indonesian and East Timorese authorities to turn a new page in their bilateral relations, which, according to the views we have heard from both sides of the border, are based on a future approach that the international community should support politically through increased financial and institutional assistance.

On the ground we saw the work achieved by the Secretary-General's Special Representative in record time and with very limited resources to help the East Timorese take control of their future and prepare for their independence, in accordance with the process described by Mr. Vieira de Mello.

We must emphasize our great satisfaction with and respect for the work achieved by the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), particularly by Mr. Vieira de Mello, who deserves to be commended. The personal commitment of the Secretary-General's Special Representative to implement Security Council resolution 1272 (1999) has been the sole guarantee for success in meeting this major challenge, particularly in view of the various obstacles and problems faced by the Transitional Administration throughout this period.

Our visit to East Timor was a fresh opportunity to see at first hand the major progress made in just over one year in the areas of security, law and order and the humanitarian situation, thanks to UNTAET's efforts. This was confirmed by the members of the Security Council mission who were in East Timor after the elections. We must continue to support UNTAET's work in the various areas that require additional human and financial resources. Above all, in our view, the Secretary-General's Special Representative should be given flexibility, for he alone can determine priorities and their urgency. Having witnessed what has been accomplished and what should be accomplished, we believe that this possibility should be explored. The judicial sector, which is so necessary for reconciliation, is among the pressing matters to be resolved.

During our visit we noted the sincerity and express will of the Indonesian authorities at the legislative and executive levels, as well as of non-governmental organizations, to take the political, legal and legislative steps necessary to find solutions to the issues raised. In this context, we encourage Indonesia to continue this approach to the various issues, such as the arrest and the prosecution of suspects, the collection and destruction of weapons, the return of refugees, the disarming of militias and a commitment to ending their activities. We believe this very complex and delicate process initiated by the Indonesian Government must be commended, and that the cooperation necessary between the Indonesian authorities and UNTAET must be strengthened in order to deal successfully with all aspects of the matter.

This cooperation must be supported and followed up by the international community in order to swiftly put into effect a strategy to speed up the repatriation and resettlement of refugees under good conditions and to begin the registration process under the auspices of the Indonesian Government, with the participation of the international humanitarian agencies, particularly the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and on the basis of the freely expressed choices of those involved.

All actions must be coordinated among all the parties concerned through agreed mechanisms, such as the Joint Border Commission, which will hold its first meeting this week in Jakarta, the bilateral commission, the security commission and so forth. The aim is to achieve reconciliation within East Timor, between Timorese in Indonesia and, finally, between Indonesia and East Timor. These are two neighbours that must coexist and cooperate for a common future. This is what we have heard from the leaders of both countries.

Obviously, the success of this undertaking will require resources and, above all, time to avoid deterioration. The complexity and the interdependence of the matters under consideration, which have been noted in the report of the Security Council mission, call for the matter to be considered as a whole. It could be prejudicial to try to fragment the approach or to establish priorities without taking into account interrelated parameters or the local political environment, which should be considered. The resolution of the situation should not create other problems whose implications could have incalculable consequences.

We believe this is the appropriate approach to resolving all the aspects mentioned in the mission's report with the requisite calm and the greatest chances for success. It must be remembered that we are dealing with the emergence of a new State, where provincial borders have suddenly become international borders, with all that that implies in terms of new parameters to be assimilated over time.

We have taken note of the fact that the East Timorese and Indonesian leaders are conscious of this. We must continue to encourage them, as Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello has been doing. We again thank and support him for the work that he is undertaking pursuant to the mandate given to him by the Security Council — a mandate that is strengthened by his skill

and by the renown that he enjoys in both East Timor and Indonesia.

Mr. Ward (Jamaica): I wish to join others in welcoming the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello. I thank him for his comprehensive briefing, which has yet again given us an insight into the process currently under way in East Timor. I also wish to take this opportunity to thank the Security Council mission to East Timor and Indonesia, under the outstanding leadership of Ambassador Martin Andjaba of Namibia, for its invaluable work. Upon their return, the members of the mission made clear to us the scope and nature of the progress and challenges faced by UNTAET. The findings of the mission increased our understanding of the realities of the situation and have, undoubtedly, better informed our discussions and decisions.

My delegation continues to recognize the numerous challenges faced by UNTAET as it seeks, in collaboration with the people of East Timor, to prepare East Timor for full self-governance and to take its place in the international community as an independent country, in accordance with resolution 1272 (1999).

Mr. Vieira de Mello's briefing today reinforces the findings and conclusions of the Security Council mission. My delegation has noted the progress which has been made in a number of areas. We note in particular that the mission was impressed by the tremendous progress being made in implementing the mandate given to UNTAET. We were pleased to hear Mr. Vieira de Mello's statement on the reconstruction of East Timor. We agree that the creation of the East Timor defence force is an essential part of the transition process. We recognize that without internal and external security the efforts to develop East Timor will indeed be in vain. We commend those Governments that have committed themselves to this effort, and we wish to emphasize that the future security of East Timor must not be left to chance. We support the idea that an international presence will be necessary in East Timor after independence.

My delegation has been emphatic in the past in stating that the involvement of the East Timorese in charting their own future is an indispensable element in the creation of a sustainable East Timor and in reducing possible gaps when UNTAET's mandate fully comes to an end. Mr. Vieira de Mello has indicated that the Timorization of the transition process is well advanced and that the handover of governance to the East Timorese will be a process, not merely an event.

I would like briefly to address the refugee situation. The long-planned return, organized by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Organization for Migration, of over 65 ex-Indonesian Armed Forces reservists from East Timor (MILSAS) and their families, which has now taken place, is a welcome development. What now appears to be an early sign of the development of a trend in the return of refugees from West Timor must be encouraged. We hope that this will receive priority attention. We also urge the international humanitarian community to deal expeditiously with the humanitarian situation in the West Timor refugee camps.

Mr. Vieira de Mello has identified a number of concerns with regard to the inability to establish a fully functioning judicial system. We are cognizant of the challenges and constraints, particularly the absence of resources and the lack of adequate local capacity. This hindrance to bringing to justice those responsible for the gross human rights violations in East Timor in 1999 cannot be allowed to remain. We look forward to UNTAET's review of the justice sector, and trust that a solution to this pressing problem will be found without further delay. The continued denial of justice can only have a negative impact on the process of reconciliation.

The efforts of UNTAET in building local capacity and preparing the East Timorese, as my delegation stated earlier, are, indeed, critical. We have noted the efforts in this regard. My delegation continues to support all efforts to this end. The timetable and mechanisms to take East Timor to full independence, as outlined by Mr. Vieira de Mello, will, when implemented, redound to the benefit of the East Timorese people and augur well for their future.

A week ago, the Security Council engaged in a very important debate on exit strategies for peacekeeping operations. As UNTAET moves forward in the transition process, we must ensure that the institutional structures being put in place can and will stand the test of time. Even though it is not possible to predict the future, we can take the necessary measures to ensure that the future of an independent East Timor will be built on a solid foundation. In this regard, it is

of the utmost importance for all the relevant organs and agencies of the United Nations to become fully engaged in this process. We must not seek to avoid our responsibilities. Our eventual withdrawal from East Timor must stand as an example of the will of the United Nations to get peacekeeping right. Jamaica fully supports this endeavour.

Mr. Keita (Mali) (*spoke in French*): I should like to welcome the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, and to thank him for his presentation which, as usual, was highly instructive. I should also like to congratulate the Security Council mission to East Timor and Indonesia, led by Ambassador Andjaba, on the quality of the report that it submitted to us. The clear recommendations that were formulated will certainly further support the transition of East Timor to independence.

With regard to the implementation of resolution 1272 (1999), my delegation welcomes the measures taken by the Special Representative to further support the capacities of the national police and the judiciary. The measures suggested to this end enjoy our full support. The progressive neutralization of the militia activities is to be welcomed. However, we believe that we must continue to be vigilant and support East Timor even after independence.

At the political level, my delegation welcomes the great progress made towards independence and the further Timorization of public life. We urge the international community to maintain its support for the activities of UNTAET until this lofty mission has completed its work. We are all committed to it and to an independent and stable East Timor.

With regard to resolution 1319 (2000), my delegation is still concerned about the very high number of refugees remaining in West Timor, and we therefore support the recommendations made by the Security Council mission. It is essential for concerted and coordinated activities to be urgently undertaken with the Indonesian Government so as to speed up the process of the safe return of the refugees. Such an approach should also apply to the exercise of justice by the Indonesian Government with regard to those who are found responsible for serious human rights violations in East Timor.

In conclusion, I would like once again to pay tribute to UNTAET and to ask it to stress national reconciliation and justice and to intensify cooperation with Indonesia. The resolution of several key issues depends on this work.

Mr. Doutriaux (France) (*spoke in French*): I will speak in my national capacity, but I would like to evoke the general nature of the European Union's interest in the situation in East Timor. My statement on this issue will of course take into account the positions taken by the European Union in this matter.

We are very happy to see here at this table once again the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Vieira de Mello. We would like to repeat here how truly impressed we are by the work done by the Special Representative and by all the civilian and military staff of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET). Despite the difficulties encountered in areas such as the reconstruction and the administration of justice — difficulties described just now by Mr. Vieira de Mello — the progress made during the last year is significant and should be very warmly welcomed.

We were quite interested to read the report of the Security Council mission to East Timor and Indonesia, which was led by Ambassador Andjaba. We consider the mission's recommendations excellent, and we call on all the parties involved to implement these recommendations immediately.

As regards the implementation of resolution 1272 (1999), we endorse the comments made by the Council mission on the need to continue and speed up the Timorization of the administration — a point that was made just now by Mr. Vieira de Mello. We welcome the establishment of the National Council made up exclusively of Timorese people. With a view in particular to the independence planned for next year, we think that policy of strengthening the national capacities must proceed systematically so as to facilitate the transition.

The Timorese people's assuming control of their own affairs must be accompanied by a restructuring of UNTAET, and some reflection on the economic, financial, technical and security assistance that should be provided to East Timor by the international community following independence. Like the Council mission, we believe the Secretariat, the United Nations Development Programme and other competent bodies should begin to plan for the United Nations presence after UNTAET leaves.

We would like to thank Mr. Vieira de Mello for all the information he has provided about the schedule of political events that the East Timorese expect to undertake next year. These events are the organizing of a constituent assembly, drafting a constitution and ensuring a smooth transition, as Mr. Vieira de Mello put it, to independence. We fully endorse the comments by the Council mission to the effect that UNTAET needs to help the Timorese establish an operational judicial system to meet their needs. The international community should support this objective.

We also totally endorse the concrete and practical recommendations made by the Council mission to implement the various provisions of resolution 1319 (2000). In particular it is essential that the refugees from West Timor be rapidly repatriated and resettled in such a way that their security and freedom of choice are effectively guaranteed. In this regard we were pleased to see that on 21 November former Indonesian Army auxiliary soldiers were successfully repatriated to East Timor. We hope that such an operation can be repeated.

We are encouraged by the initial steps that the Indonesian authorities have taken to disarm and dissolve the militias. These militias continue to be responsible for too many acts of violence, intimidation and disinformation in both West and East Timor. We thus urge the Indonesian Government to continue all the necessary efforts to bring to justice those responsible for crimes against the local peoples or against international personnel. The recent arrest of six people believed involved in the Atambua tragedy was encouraging.

Like the Council mission, we believe that the establishment of relations of trust and good neighbourliness between East Timor and Indonesia is indispensable. We welcome the first steps taken by UNTAET and the Indonesian Government to this end, and we hope that the very next meeting of the Joint Border Commission — which Mr. Vieira de Mello said was to be held on Thursday — will be held in a positive atmosphere. We also welcome the Indonesian Government's acceptance of the coming of a United Nations security team to West Timor. All of these measures are indispensable if the international community and the humanitarian agencies can return to West Timor to help in the repatriation and resettlement of refugees.

In conclusion, I would just like to confirm my country's — as well as the European Union's unwavering support — for the leaders of the people of East Timor. The next donors' meeting, which is to be held in Brussels in early December, will be an opportunity for us to confirm our commitment. We call on other donor countries and entities to participate actively in the Brussels conference alongside our European Union partners.

I would like to ask the Special Representative one rather technical question. In his introductory statement he talked about easing the administrative and financial procedures, in particular, with regard to using resources from UNTAET's budget for infrastructure expenses. As we understand it, this is a priority for the Special Representative, and it should be taken up as soon as possible by the Fifth Committee. To help our representatives in the Fifth Committee, we would like to know whether Mr. Vieira de Mello is at present able to tell us the amount involved and whether he thinks this is just a redeployment of the current UNTAET budget.

The President: I will now make a brief statement in my national capacity.

It is specifically on behalf of the Netherlands that I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to Sergio Vieira de Mello. It is probably the last time that the Netherlands as a member of the Security Council will hear him report on East Timor, and he and his staff of dedicated people are doing a superb job in the face of enormous challenges which, as Ambassador Soderberg pointed out, are rarely reported in the press because the operation is going so well.

It is clear from the report of the Security Council mission and from Mr. Vieira de Mello's briefing today that the international community will have to sustain its commitment to East Timor for some time to come. We therefore fully agree with the draft presidential statement submitted by the United Kingdom — which statement underlines the need for a strong international commitment to East Timor after independence, inter alia, through the provision of financial, technical and security assistance.

This month the Dutch presidency has devoted special attention to exit strategies — that is, to the question of how to wind up a peace operation after its objective has been realized. It is clear that the theme is also very relevant for East Timor. Not so long ago my

delegation expressed its concern about the tendency of some of us — both Member States and those within the Secretariat — to underestimate the time it will take for East Timor to be able to face all the challenges of an independent State, including external security, on its own. We are relieved to note that in this respect there has been a striking change of heart. We welcome the new atmosphere of realism. Only by being both committed and realistic can we hope to bring the East Timor operation to a successful conclusion.

I will now resume my function as President of the Council and give the floor to Mr. Vieira de Mello to respond to comments and questions from members of the Council.

Mr. Vieira de Mello: Before I respond, Mr. President, may I request you to please convey to His Royal Highness, Prince Willem-Alexander, the Crown Prince of the Netherlands, my gratitude for his presence this morning until only a few minutes ago, and my gratitude for his message of support to me and to the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET).

Let me also thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council for the strong support once again expressed today for our mission. This is extremely important to me and to my colleagues, but, more important, to the East Timorese leaders and people.

I have a few comments on points that were made by practically all members of the Council, first on the question of the refugees in West Timor and the need for proper registration, the need for them to be able to exercise a free choice either to return in safety to East Timor or to remain and integrate in Indonesia with international support. This is clearly key to the success of our mission, including to the conduct of a free, fair and comprehensive democratic electoral process next year.

I thank the Council also for what all members said about the need to improve our resources and capacity-building in the area of the judiciary, particularly with regard to the investigation and prosecution of serious crimes. I thank in particular Ambassador Soderberg of the United States for her clear indication that the United States will consider as a matter of urgency the appeal for additional human resources, not least investigators, for East Timor. I often compare the situation we found ourselves in on 13 June last year, when we entered Kosovo with the benefit of considerable human resources for the investigation of serious human rights abuses in that territory, and the lack of such resources as we went into East Timor and until today. Please help us; please respond urgently to the request that we will be circulating informally to members of the Council and other potential supporters.

I am also grateful for what several delegations said about the need for an East Timorese defence force, its development and its training in the very near future. There again we need fresh resources, because, as the Council knows, there is absolutely no provision for this purpose in the East Timor consolidated budget.

Many speakers — indeed, practically all — welcomed the establishment of the Joint Border Commission and expressed the wish that we transform it swiftly into a body for regular high-level contacts to address and resolve the wide-ranging issues that exist at present on the bilateral agenda and that are of mutual interest.

Ultimately, I wish to restate here that we fully support the statement by all the members of the Council that East Timor and Indonesia must establish the strongest and the friendliest possible relations. These relations will obviously be mutually beneficial. That is indeed our policy, and I should point out that our Director for Political, Constitutional and Electoral Affairs, Mr. Peter Galbraith, has been in Jakarta since Sunday. He had yesterday, and was planning to have today, a number of meetings. He reported on an extremely fruitful meeting he had yesterday with Coordinating Minister Bambang Yudhoyono, in preparation for a visit that I also intend to pay to Jakarta in the very near future.

Thank you also for everything you said about the flexibility in the use of the resources under the assessed budget of UNTAET and on the question of its assets.

Concerning the preparation for the post-independence period, I wish to thank again the leader of the Security Council mission, Ambassador Martin Andjaba, for the strong recommendation he made in his report, and you, Mr. President, for the very supportive letter that you have written to the President of the General Assembly.

(*spoke in French*)

In reply to the specific question posed by Mr. Doutriaux on this subject, I cannot give an estimate as to the use of resources from UNTAET's budget as such in support of the activities of establishing this new administration that will become independent, we hope, towards the end of next year. We have made several practical suggestions about the use of UNTAET's budget — for example, for the training of an increased number of Timorese police and for the rehabilitation of the physical infrastructure of the new Timorese judiciary. We will certainly be able to give you and the Fifth Committee some concrete proposals. As you have indicated, we will obviously remain within the limits of what is reasonable, according to the estimates of the Fifth Committee and the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ). Thank you for giving us the opportunity of making specific recommendations for the current UNTAET budget or for the next one, according to the duration, obviously, of the mandate that you will give us at the end of the month of January.

(*spoke in English*)

I turn to other specific questions. Ambassador Soderberg of the United States and Ambassador Wang Yingfan of China asked me about the latest update on the bilateral discussions and on the question of pensions. Unfortunately, we have not had any bilateral negotiations with Indonesia since our last round in July. This is clearly unsatisfactory. We must agree on the date of our next bilateral meeting, as distinct from the Joint Border Commission meeting. The question of pensions figures very high on the agenda of our bilateral discussions. We had managed to reach partial agreement on the question of pensions to be paid by the Government of Indonesia to its former East Timorese civil servants, and I believe that further progress can be made as soon as we meet again. I will request the leader of our delegation to the Joint Border Commission meeting to propose dates for the next round of bilateral discussions.

Ambassador Andjaba, supported by Ambassador Eldon, Ambassador Chowdhury, Ambassador Wang Yingfan and Ambassador Ward, requested that, as part of the renewal of UNTAET's mandate at the end of January, the Secretariat should submit recommendations on the presence of the United Nations after independence, and stated that planning should start soon for that to happen. I thank him for that. We fully agree with you, Ambassador Andjaba, as we discussed with you and other members of the Security Council mission in Dili, and I will certainly share your request with my colleagues in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, who should be in a position to provide you with a general blueprint on how we see the United Nations presence in East Timor after independence at the time when the Secretary-General submits his report to this Council in January.

Ambassador Eldon clearly pointed out that the question of the recruitment of senior civil servants must be addressed as a matter of priority in the process of Timorization. He asked how we intended to do that. We began discussing this in Cabinet last week and will continue, tomorrow, Wednesday. The two main challenges we face are that many skilled, competent East Timorese do not live in East Timor, and it is, as can be imagined, difficult to provide them with the necessary incentives to return and help us fill the gap that presently exists in the recruitment of the new civil servants of East Timor.

Secondly, the salary scale of the East Timorese civil service is clearly not competitive, even though I must say that partners of UNTAET, in particular the International Monetary Fund (IMF), felt that our salary scales were perhaps too high in terms of their longer-term sustainability. That is the dilemma we face. How we might be able to resolve this quandary is what Cabinet, and later the national council, will need to address, but I assure Ambassador Eldon and other members of the Council that we are giving the matter the highest priority.

Ambassador Heinbecker of Canada asked me to assess the chances of agreement on a transit arrangement between the enclave of Oecussi and the rest of the territory of East Timor. As the Council knows, that has also been on our agenda of bilateral discussions with the Government of Indonesia. Clearly, the insecurity that prevailed in West Timor in September and October made further discussions on this subject extremely difficult, but it is a matter to which we shall continue to give top priority, not least because the population of the enclave must be provided with the basic right of moving freely within East Timorese territory, and at present the only way they can do so is by using barges that are put at their disposal by UNTAET, not least by the UNTAET military, which is

most unsatisfactory, in addition to being very unsafe. We are also looking into the possibility of establishing a regular ferry service with the enclave as well as with the island of Atauro, but for that we would need additional financial resources. I will be presenting this need to the donor conference in Brussels next week.

Once again, Mr. President, many thanks for giving me this opportunity to report to the Council on the latest developments in East Timor, and I once again thank the Council for its strong support.

The President: I thank Mr. Vieira de Mello for his answers, comments and clarifications.

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4237

Security Council

Fifty-fifth year

Provisional

4237th meeting

Tuesday, 28 November 2000, 3 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. van Walsum	(Netherlands)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cappagli
	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Canada	Mr. Heinbecker
	China	Mr. Chen Xu
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Jamaica	Mr. Ward
	Malaysia	Mr. Mohammad Kamal
	Mali	Mr. Kassé
	Namibia	Mr. Andjaba
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Tunisia	Mr. Tekaya
	Ukraine	Mr. Kuchynski
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir. Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Ms. Soderberg

Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

00-76793 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ileka (Democratic Republic of the Congo) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Ms. Carolyn McAskie, Emergency Relief Coordinator *ad interim*, Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Ms. McAskie to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing by the Emergency Relief Coordinator *ad interim* of the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, Ms. Carolyn McAskie, to whom I give the floor.

Ms. McAskie: Let me thank you, Sir, for this opportunity to brief the Council on the humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It is particularly pertinent at this moment, for, thus far, all diplomatic and military efforts to end what has been described as "Africa's First World War" have not shown results, while the humanitarian crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo remains one of the worst in the world in terms of both intensity and magnitude.

The overall situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in our view from the humanitarian side, continues to deteriorate as military activity occurs with varying intensity and skirmishes from time to time develop into full-scale battles. The Council is familiar with the unfortunate events that occurred in Kisangani a few months ago, having itself sent a mission to the region. United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations have been forced repeatedly to suspend or forgo operations throughout the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo. In most parts of Orientale province and parts of Equateur province not under government control, many areas remain inaccessible as a result of a dilapidated or non-existent road network and rampant insecurity. There are recurrent epidemics, a scarcity of medicines and a collapsed health-care system.

The figures of people affected by this conflict are staggering. In three years of protracted civil war, the number of conflict-affected from the Democratic Republic of the Congo has soared to around 16 million people — a full 33 per cent of the population. Council members are familiar with a study issued earlier this year by the International Rescue Committee, which concluded that up to 1.7 million people — approximately 600,000 of them children under five — are likely to have died as a result of the war in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo alone. About one third of those deaths are actually attributable to violence. The rest are due mainly to preventable diseases and malnutrition caused by the lack of access, the lack of assistance and the sheer inability of people to live a normal life. The study suggests that child mortality rates in the Democratic Republic of the Congo are among the highest in the world and, tragically, this is likely to increase even further.

Flagrant human rights violations prevail throughout the Democratic Republic of the Congo and occur in an atmosphere of total impunity. In terms of displaced persons, civilians in the Democratic Republic of the Congo are afforded no protection, but are, on the

contrary, systematically targeted by all parties to the conflict. We have provided a series of briefing maps to the Council from which members will see that over two million people have been displaced.

Of particular concern is the situation of the Kivus and Orientale province, where insurgencies, counter-insurgencies and ethnic tensions have led to some 950,000 civilians being displaced. This is further complicated by the presence of armed groups, which use random violence against civilians as a strategy of war.

Of particular concern is the situation of large numbers of people who have opted for refuge in the rainforest — around 200,000 in all. Many of them have suffered repeat displacements; they have fled to remote areas, subsisting mainly on wild berries and raw food, with little or no access to health care. We also continue to learn of internally displaced persons who are systematically subjected to forced labour, finding themselves in the hands of the military or various militia groups as prisoners or hostages. Children suffer an equally terrible fate and we continue to hear reports of recruitment of Congolese children, some of them being taken to neighbouring countries.

As far as refugees are concerned, there are currently over 300,000 in neighbouring countries, with a rapid and recent exodus from Equateur province into the Republic of Congo — a tragic situation for a country that has recently been coming out of a war of its own, now to suffer the double burden of a tremendous inflow of refugees; 100,000 have fled to the Republic of Congo alone and another 10,000 to the Central African Republic. In the past two weeks, 5,000 more people have fled from Katanga into Zambia. The Democratic Republic of the Congo, however, is also, conversely, host to over 330,000 refugees who have fled civil strife in the neighbouring countries of Rwanda, Burundi, Angola, Uganda and the Sudan.

What does this mean for the Democratic Republic of the Congo? It means that the economy has all but crumbled, leaving the vast majority of the country's population to face dire financial hardship. The war, compounded by deep-rooted economic and social problems, mismanagement and neglect, has rendered food shortages commonplace and has sparked a devastating increase in malnutrition. There are extreme food deficits ranging from 20 per cent to 55 per cent of demand in some parts of the country. The foreign exchange rate is at twice its previous valuation; there is a standing ban on the use of foreign currency, and the already limited resources available for humanitarian activities have depreciated seriously, putting at risk those who are most in need of assistance.

Humanitarian agencies find it increasingly difficult to operate in this environment and to provide the level of assistance needed to save lives. The war has had the twin effects of creating new populations in need and at the same time creating untenable security environments that impede access to those same populations. This is further exacerbated by logistical constraints which render the delivery of assistance to many remote areas extremely difficult, if not impossible.

These problems are encountered both in Government-controlled regions of the country and in areas controlled by all three rebel entities: the Rally for Democracy (RCD), the Movement for the Liberation of the Congo (MLC) and the Rally for Democracy-Liberation Movement (RCD-ML). In Government areas, the problems stem from strict administrative procedures surrounding the granting of access, while in rebel-held areas lack of access derives from the prevailing lack of security. In one notable instance where obstacles prevented access, an estimated 300,000 displaced persons in southern Equateur and another 150,000 internally displaced persons in northern Katanga were left without desperately needed humanitarian assistance despite the fact that the humanitarian agencies had both the means and the capacity to undertake delivery; they were prevented from entering.

Despite those problems, the United Nations agencies on the ground continuously work hard to respond to the situation at hand. That has resulted, for instance, in a number of breakthrough operations in some of the most critical conflict-affected areas, including Kasai, northern Katanga, Equateur, Ituri and South Kivu. The United Nations maintains a country-wide presence in all 11 provinces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The United Nations agencies and the Humanitarian Coordinator enjoy the extremely close and useful collaboration of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), and the comprehensive support of Mr. Kamel Morjane, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. I would say that this is one of

the best examples of political and humanitarian cooperation in the realm of United Nations exercises.

This year, significant success was achieved — and we have indeed had some success — through the implementation of a nationwide polio eradication campaign that reached more than 10 million children under the age of five, and through other country-wide and cross-front-line initiatives. For example, this year's State examination campaign included 28,000 students. It is hard to tell how many children are in school in the Democratic Republic of the Congo these days; estimates range from 35 per cent to 50 per cent of school-age children receiving primary education.

Against that backdrop, the consolidated appeals for funds for the year 2000 requested $71.4 million. The response to date has been 61 per cent: $43.6 million. However, more than 80 per cent of the funding provided was for food assistance and food security programmes, with critically low funding received for primary health, epidemics control, child protection, human rights and confidence-building sectors. Because of the magnitude of the crisis, the net impact of the humanitarian assistance provided in the Democratic Republic of the Congo can only be described as minimal. In 2000, of the 16 million war-affected people, less than 50 per cent received humanitarian assistance, and even that on a sporadic basis.

Earlier today, the Secretary-General launched the appeals for 2001. The 2001 appeal for the Democratic Republic of the Congo articulates a humanitarian strategy with the following elements: immediate provision of life-saving support; enhancing survival strategies and coping mechanisms of war-affected populations; facilitation and promotion of free circulation of persons and goods across the front line; and support to community-based self-recovery initiatives.

Members of the Council will see from the information package provided that this coming year's consolidated appeal includes projects that target different levels of intervention, from household food security and health interventions at the local level, to wider assistance programmes requiring participation from all parts of the country. To prevent an even larger humanitarian catastrophe, this is one of the few appeals in which we have vastly increased the amount of money requested, but to a relatively modest $139.5 million — modest, that is, in relation to the need. A keystone of humanitarian response will be the emergency humanitarian intervention mechanism that we have created, which provides funds for rapid emergency response to situations such as those that arose in Kisangani last June and most recently in Equateur province. It makes funds available locally through donations from our donors, funds we can access immediately to respond to an on-the-spot crisis.

As the humanitarian situation becomes increasingly grave for growing numbers of Congolese, the efforts of the United Nations and its implementing partners are being hampered by the lack of security, limited access to affected populations and critically few resources for life-saving interventions. What is needed now is a genuine commitment by all parties to ensure that access for humanitarian agencies is improved. I would urge Council members to impress upon all parties to the conflict the need for cooperation to ensure full humanitarian access across the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

It would be of paramount importance for all parties to the conflict fully to respect international humanitarian law, human rights law and the principles of engagement for humanitarian assistance in the Democratic Republic of the Congo drawn up by the humanitarian agencies, in order to ensure that civilians will not be targeted by violence or forced to flee their homes, and that humanitarian personnel will be provided with the necessary guarantees of safety and security.

Moreover, the world community must realize that the means currently available to the relief community are not commensurate with the magnitude of what is certainly one of the world's gravest humanitarian crises.

We would like to draw the attention of the international donor community to what we see as the crucial symbiosis between peace and humanitarian assistance in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We hope that increased donor assistance can reinforce common objectives of life-saving, rebuilding livelihoods and promoting peace and security.

Particular attention could be given to the security of aid workers operating in highly insecure and volatile areas of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. A particular request is made in the consolidated appeal for support for the security element.

I would say that this past year has been a year that signified the departure from a passive to a more challenging and result-oriented approach to tackling the devastating effects of war. The achievements could be rated as significant despite the enormous difficulties. But the low level of funding means that humanitarian operations remain on a hand-to-mouth basis.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo is under political, social and economic stress, and its problems are deeply interconnected with those of its neighbours. The people of the Congo are becoming exhausted, no longer able to cope with the violence and impoverishment to which they are subjected on a daily basis. The failure to sustain any semblance of normalcy must be recognized as the result of decades of poor government and an absence of governance. Ironically, it is that absence of governance that has taught the people of the Congo how to survive and that has sparked their resilience.

We recognize that a commitment from the international community to address the humanitarian situation will not by itself solve the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We fully support the efforts of the Security Council to continue to seek lasting solutions to address the military and political issues, in concert with humanitarian efforts. While the humanitarian situation is extremely grave, we know that a humanitarian response is not viewed as a substitute; nor should it preclude the search for a long-term solution.

The President: I thank Ms. McAskie for her comprehensive and illuminating briefing.

Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh): We are grateful to you, Mr. President, for scheduling this briefing by the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. This follows the logic of the meeting we had in March on the humanitarian situation in Iraq. Today's meeting also represents the first follow-up to the provision made in resolution 1327 (2000) for humanitarian briefings on conflict situations. We appreciate the very useful briefing given by Ms. Carolyn McAskie. We also thank her for sharing with us a nicely bound and very informative folder.

The humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has continued to deteriorate; the number of displaced persons has increased; more people are being driven from their hearth and home; more people are being forced out of the country; there is renewed fighting in Kisangani or the Kivus or Equateur; there are casualties; there are gross violations of humanitarian laws and human rights; belligerent parties continue to recruit children and send them to the front line for combat; the situation is grave, but humanitarian access in many areas remains difficult. That has in essence been the substance of the quarterly reports of the Secretary-General and the periodic briefings given by the Secretariat over the year. The situation, as Ms. McAskie has informed us today, has not improved in any of these areas.

It is appalling that 16 million people, or 33 per cent of the country's population, remain in critical need of food, and that a large number of people suffer epidemic outbreaks of cholera, meningitis, dysentery, malaria and haemorrhagic fever. Women and children are most affected by this crisis.

The recent leadership wrangles in the Congolese Rally for Democracy-Liberation Movement (RCD-ML) has claimed at least 40 lives in Bunia and has forced about 1,000 people out of the country. Such fratricidal wars must stop. We call upon the parties to immediately halt all military action and open humanitarian corridors for these people. We also urge members of the United Nations with influence on the parties to secure necessary humanitarian access to these areas.

It is unfortunate that all actors — internal and external — continue to justify the war by insisting that they have their stakes. As the war is fought at the expense of the Congolese people, it would seem, from the behaviour of the belligerents, that the people alone have no stakes or that their lives or their right to peace and prosperity have no place in the belligerents' minds. It is this point that High Commissioner Sadako Ogata tried to impress upon the leaders during her June visit to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, when she said,

> "Don't forget the people and, as you negotiate, don't ignore the human cost of the war."

The failure to recognize the human cost of the war is demonstrated by the continued ceasefire violations by all parties. The recent ceasefire violations in the north of Katanga are deeply deplorable. The RCD's recapture

of the town of Pepa complicates the situation and challenges the role the United Nations could play there.

The dire humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as in other conflict zones, is the direct consequence of conflicts. The long-term solution of the humanitarian crisis lies in a political settlement. Humanitarian assistance cannot be an alternative to a political settlement. The Council had extended the mandate of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) by two months to allow for political and diplomatic initiatives for the full deployment of the United Nations mission.

The Council will have to take a serious decision on continued engagement by the United Nations in the Democratic Republic of the Congo as the mandate of MONUC comes to an end after the technical roll-over. The progress that we expected from the different diplomatic initiatives has proved elusive so far. This is certainly a source of serious concern. We, however, continue to believe that the United Nations must remain engaged in the Democratic Republic of the Congo while efforts continue in order to create conditions for the full deployment of MONUC. We hold the view that the existence of a peace agreement should not be an obstacle to a peace settlement. If need be, while maintaining commitment to the Lusaka Agreement, the parties could, in order to move forward, agree to additional provisions like the Kampala disengagement plan.

The United Nations, like the parties to the conflict, cannot ignore the regional dimension of the conflict. It has been repeatedly mentioned here that there is no military solution to the crisis. Lusaka represents a package. The United Nations has welcomed it and remains committed to help in its implementation. If the parties so require, we would, in principle, have no problem with a Lusaka-II or Lusaka-III. We should support all serious efforts that advance the prospects of peace. It should be recognized by all parties that an inclusive political process is a prerequisite to any credible disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme.

It is regrettable that the provisions of the relevant Security Council resolutions remain without compliance, although they are mandatory for the concerned parties. The key to the resolution of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and to comprehensive peace in the Great Lakes region lies in the full implementation of the relevant Council resolutions. That should take place without any further delay.

I would conclude by recalling the wise advice of President Mandela. Speaking about the rebel groups in Burundi, he said that surrender of weapons by rebels cannot be realistically expected until they can become fully involved in the peace process. He mentioned that the African National Congress did not give up arms until it was allowed to be fully engaged in the political process. There should be useful wisdom in the words of an elder statesman for the authorities in Kinshasa and other, neighbouring capitals.

Sir Jeremy Greenstock (United Kingdom): We warmly welcome the briefing from the acting Emergency Relief Coordinator, which was a very good, very clear and, in some of its aspects, quite depressing briefing. I want to go back to one or two points of detail.

It is very good to hear that there is excellent coordination with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and his team, which is the kind of coordination that we need to see in the most difficult and complex situations — particularly in Africa, as we pointed out in the report of our mission to Sierra Leone. That is good news.

I do not want to get into the detail of the politics of what we face in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We shall discuss that on later occasions — with the troop contributors this week and when we consider the roll-over of the mandate of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC). In addition to the humanitarian situation, the general situation is depressing, because Lusaka is not being implemented as it should have been implemented by the parties. They virtually all bear some responsibility for that in their several ways.

We in the Council all know that the Congo is perhaps the greatest challenge we have to face with respect to Africa in the Security Council, and we have got to get it right. It is a more serious and complex situation even than Sierra Leone, and we must give it the same effort and the same intensity. I hope that somewhere we will find some leadership for addressing the problems of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, both from within the region and from outside. But we will come to the details of that in due course when we

address the rollovers and when we have an account of the meetings that have taken place in Maputo and that are to take place later in Lusaka.

The first indications of the second Maputo meeting are that there is increasing weariness with continuing the conflict, increasing impatience from the parties within the region — those that are not contributing to the early implementation of Lusaka, or whatever they can agree between them to substantiate Lusaka — and there is, I think, an interesting indication from Kinshasa that the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo is willing to work with MONUC and with the international agencies to try to make things operate better on the ground. In meeting the objectives that we have set ourselves, that would all be good news if it were confirmed, but there is an enormous amount to do.

I pay particular tribute to the work of the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and to that of the agencies and the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) on the ground. I think that they are facing the most awful conditions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Not only is there sometimes almost complete insecurity for them as operators, but there is also a dire lack of proper infrastructure and proper support. It is vital for their security and for their ability to do their job that they get help on the ground from everybody concerned.

I am therefore quite interested to hear more details from the Coordinator ad interim on the present state of the relationship of the agencies with the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and with the factions that operate in the areas where they find themselves. The Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie-Mouvement de libération (RCD-ML) is in Kisangani and Goma, and the Mouvement de libération (MLC) is in Equateur province. I would just like a bit more detail on the actual state of relations now — what kind of help is being provided, what kind of obstructions are there, where the Coordinator ad interim feels the greatest insecurities are, and what we are going to need to talk about when we look at the primary tasks for the deployment of MONUC, if and when we come to that.

We would also be interested to know whether the agencies are developing with the NGOs a coordinated aid strategy that responds to the humanitarian situation and where the lacunae are in that particular process, if any, or whether that coordination picture is also quite good. Generally, we would like also to know what the current obstacles are to humanitarian access, which we ought to be addressing at the same time as we look at MONUC rollover.

I think that it is quite important to use this briefing to try to specify the actual points which may be remediable with a huge amount of effort and a bit of goodwill, to be differentiated from those where it is fairly hopeless to expect any real improvement in the near future.

My delegation takes note of what the Coordinator ad interim said about funding, in particular the regrettable focus only on food as opposed to non-food aid. I think part of the reason may be the sense of helplessness over the Congo, that one does not invest one's aid into those things that need programmes extending over time, whereas one does invest in food, because food is a daily need that has to be delivered into mouths day by day, and it can go on as best as one can handle it. But disease, transport and other aspects that the Coordinator ad interim has mentioned are programmes for which confidence, stability and continuity are required, and that may be part of the problem. But we have taken note of where the deficiencies are.

With those points and questions and in more detail, I am looking forward to some further remarks from the Coordinator ad interim later. I think I will stop there.

Mr. Heinbecker (Canada) (*spoke in French*): Canada is deeply concerned by the serious humanitarian crisis resulting from the continuation of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The conflict has caused unspeakable suffering to the population of the Congo as well as enormous loss of life and material damage. The fact that this situation has lasted now for more than three years is intolerable.

At the present time, the major obstacle to humanitarian access for those people who need emergency assistance is the non-implementation of the Lusaka Agreement by the parties and the lack of zeal of those parties in cooperating with the United Nations.

(*spoke in English*)

We join our colleagues in condemning all violations of the ceasefire. We urge all parties concerned in the region to cease immediately military

activity and to implement fully the Lusaka Agreement and the Kampala disengagement plan. We call on all parties to the conflict, and in particular the Government, to respect their obligations, particularly in ensuring the safety and freedom of movement of United Nations and humanitarian personnel. We join the United Kingdom in saluting those heroes who are working in the Congo on our behalf in the most difficult of conditions.

We encourage all United Nations agencies and humanitarian organizations present in the Democratic Republic of the Congo to work closely together in developing an effective and holistic strategy to address the urgent humanitarian needs of civilians.

Canada condemns all violations of human rights and humanitarian law committed in both Government and rebel-controlled areas. Those responsible for violations, including serious crimes such as crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and other grave violations of humanitarian law, must be brought to justice. There cannot be peace or reconciliation if we do not put an end to the culture of impunity.

On a further issue, Canada is greatly concerned with continuing official infringement on the right of free expression, in violation of the Lusaka Agreement. We are particularly concerned by the recent announcement by the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo that "to criticize the State is to be an enemy of the State". Freedom of opinion and expression are essential as peace- and confidence-building measures.

(*spoke in French*)

We have been informed that, apparently, certain non-governmental organizations believe that a significant deployment of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) might further hamper humanitarian access by provoking hostile forces to oppose any international presence.

We would be grateful to the Bureau of the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs for sharing their assessment of this view.

Mr. Cappagli (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): I should like to thank you, Mr. President, for organizing this open briefing, and I should like also to thank Ms. Carolyn McAskie for the important information that she has shared with us, both orally and in writing, on the serious humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The humanitarian situation and the political and military situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo cannot be considered separately, because the former is, to a great extent, the consequence of the latter. The current military situation, characterized by the absence of peace and the absence of widespread warfare but marked by local conflicts, implies a lack of solutions to problems of, among others, refugees, massive displacements of populations, chronic malnutrition, health and educational opportunities for young people. In sum, the humanitarian crisis resulting from armed conflict is gradually eroding the living conditions of the majority of the Congolese population, relegating one of the African States richest in natural resources to position 152 out of a total of 174 countries on the human development index.

Armed conflict also affects the conditions in which the humanitarian organizations carry out their work. They are operating in a security context that is different from the one the parties agreed to respect in July 1999, when they signed the Lusaka Agreement. The parties have repeatedly violated the ceasefire and the humanitarian clauses of the Agreement. The humanitarian organizations have faced limited access to vulnerable populations, restrictions on their freedom of movement and serious security risks in Government-administered areas as well as in areas under the control of the three main rebel movements. Of a total of 1,800,000 internally displaced persons, the humanitarian agencies have access to only one-sixth of that number because of widespread insecurity. The parties must assume responsibility for the human costs of limiting access to vulnerable groups. In this context, Argentina wishes to reiterate once again the importance of respecting the principles stemming from the 1994 Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel.

I also wish to refer to the violations of international law occurring in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, particularly in the eastern part of the country. There have been crimes against humanity there. Suffice it to recall the massacres of the civilian population in Kalimbo, Katogata and Lusenda-Lumimba. These massacres cannot go unpunished. The necessary mechanisms to carry out an international

investigation must be created and those responsible must be brought to justice.

Humanitarian assistance is an essential palliative in a crisis situation, but it is no substitute for the fundamental political decisions that the parties to the conflict must take. In our judgement, these decisions go beyond full compliance and good faith with the Lusaka Agreement, involving respect for the territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the principle of non-intervention in its internal matters, security guarantees for all the States of the region, particularly Rwanda and Uganda, and the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We also believe that the deployment of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), when there are reasonable security conditions — and I say "reasonable", not "ideal" — will be a factor of stability that will contribute to the substantive resolution of the matter, as well as facilitating the work of the humanitarian organizations.

In conclusion, permit me to make two brief observations.

The political and military situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo cannot be analysed in isolation; rather it should be seen in the context of the situation in the Great Lakes region. We believe that the humanitarian situation must be analysed with the same regional approach.

We also believe that long-term stability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo cannot be seen separately from the strengthening of democratic institutions and the promotion of sustainable development throughout the region; that is, a regional, comprehensive approach is needed. For these reasons, we wish to reiterate once again our support for France's idea of convening an international conference on the Great Lakes region when the appropriate political conditions exist.

Mr. Levitte (France)(*spoke in French*): I wish to thank Ms. Carolyn McAskie, acting Emergency Relief Coordinator, for her accurate and detailed briefing, which is very useful for our Security Council because it sheds light on a misunderstood or little known aspect of the tragedy being experienced by the Democratic Republic of the Congo: the humanitarian situation. Therefore, I also wish to thank you, Mr. President, for having taken the initiative of organizing this Security Council meeting on this vital question.

Our debate today is an important stage in the work being done by the Security Council this month on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It clarifies our reflection on the international community's attitude to the conflict in this country. In two weeks we will be making decisions on United Nations action in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the Council must be in a position to express a view when it has examined all the aspects of the question.

The humanitarian aspects are, in our view, essential. As Ms. McAskie has rightly emphasized, the situation is tragic. In addition to Ms. McAskie's briefing, we also bear in mind the information provided by the Special Rapporteur on human rights in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mr. Garretón, whom the Security Council heard in October during an "Arria" meeting. Mr. Garretón gave a briefing on human rights violations throughout the country, emphasizing in particular that the most basic right, the right to life, was scorned, particularly in the eastern part of the country. Mr. Garretón's report lists of massacres of the civilian population and inter-ethnic confrontations in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

We also bear in mind information transmitted to us by non-governmental organizations. I refer particularly to the report issued in June 2000 by the American organization International Rescue Committee, which estimated that from August 1998 to May 2000 the conflict had caused the death of more than 1.7 million persons in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo alone.

I do not mean to join in a battle of figures here, but two essential points must be recalled: first, the victims of conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo number in the hundreds of thousands, unfortunately; and, secondly, the deaths result, on the one hand, from the violence committed against civilians and the resultant displacement of populations, and, on the other hand, from the interruption of assistance caused by instability in the area and the lack of access to these populations. Thus the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has tragic humanitarian consequences.

We must be aware that this crisis is political and military. The current situation is deeply rooted in the tragedies of the Great Lakes region over the last decade. The immediate cause of the conflict is the crisis that was triggered in August 1998. We must therefore give the Congolese humanitarian support to help them meet their immediate needs, and in this spirit we encourage the actions of the United Nations agencies, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and non-governmental organizations.

As part of the European Union, France is also providing assistance through the European Community Humanitarian Office (ECHO), which this year has set up a programme to provide health care and assistance to displaced persons.

However, we must also contribute to a political settlement of this conflict. That is the responsibility of our Council. Efforts to implement the Lusaka Agreement and the relevant Security Council resolutions have encountered many difficulties, but the United Nations must continue to pursue those efforts. I should like to say once again what I have often said during our debates: we must not give up. How could we give up, after hearing Carolyn McAskie's comments?

In the coming days, the Security Council will be called upon to decide, on the basis of recommendations to be made by the Secretary-General, what support MONUC can provide to the settlement process. France believes that we must continue to pursue our efforts. Here, I would like to endorse a point that our Argentine colleague has just forcefully underlined: MONUC must retain the resources envisaged for it last February so that it can fully play its role, and these resources must be effectively deployed.

In the light of our debate today, we will have to consider whether MONUC can also play a role in better evaluating the humanitarian situation and thereby contribute to the assistance effort. In this regard, we believe that it would be desirable to strengthen the civilian component of the United Nations mission. In several conflict situations, the United Nations has incorporated a civilian component into its on-site missions, particularly in missions with both a civilian and military aspect, such as was the case until 1998 in Angola. It is also the case in Afghanistan at present, where there are civilian observers as part of the United Nations Special Mission in Afghanistan. Such a civilian observer component, as distinct from military observers, could perhaps play a useful role within MONUC in assessing the situation and ensuring liaison with civil society.

Naturally, the conditions for deploying such civilian observers — in particular with regard to security — would have to be examined carefully. I listened to the comments of our colleague from Canada, and I, too, would like to hear Ms. McAskie's opinion on that matter. I would also be interested to hear her thoughts about my comments regarding the possibility of deploying civilian observers within MONUC in order to play a supplementary role.

Mr. Andjaba (Namibia): My delegation thanks the acting Emergency Relief Coordinator, Ms. Carolyn McAskie, for her briefing on the deplorable humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The Democratic Republic of the Congo is the most mineral-rich country in Africa, yet it has the worst humanitarian situation in the world. Indeed, Ms. McAskie's briefing only confirmed our worst fears about the immense suffering of the Congolese people as a result of the senseless war of aggression. My delegation strongly deplores the current state of affairs and the targeting of civilians.

Today's meeting affords us an opportunity to reflect on the fate of those Congolese women, men and children who continue to be uprooted from their homes or who are killed and maimed, in addition to the women who are rape victims. In our view, our objective should be to address their situation by helping to put an end to this suffering. In order to do that, we must address the causes of the situation, which is the aggression of Uganda and Rwanda against the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

We all have a responsibility to ensure that Congolese civilians live in dignity, like those in any other nation on earth. We are particularly concerned about the civilians in the eastern part of the country. The report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Democratic Republic of the Congo shows a clear but sad picture of the humanitarian situation, especially in the eastern part of the country. At a closed briefing for Council members last month, Mr. Garretón, in explaining the human rights and humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, stated that in the east of the country there is no right to life. In our view, that sums it all up.

Violations of human rights and international humanitarian law, in particular the deliberate targeting of civilians and their communities in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, must stop. The Security Council must do more to end the culture of impunity in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, especially in the occupied eastern part of the country.

The war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has implications beyond that country's borders. It has devastating implications beyond the central African region. This is evident from the briefing we just heard: there are thousands of internally displaced persons, and so many neighbouring countries are affected by the refugee flow. These generous neighbours have to carry an extra burden of hosting thousands of refugees. Some of them are least developed countries, while others have just emerged from conflict themselves and are making efforts to reconstruct their economies. Worse still, the situation could have serious repercussions for the rest of the African continent.

As I listened to the briefing by Ms. McAskie, I could not help but recall the briefings we heard from the women of Sierra Leone and Somalia during the preparations for the meeting on women and peace and security. Their experience could surely apply to any women and children in a conflict situation. The raging war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo thus vividly underscores the fact that women remain the worst affected of all groups in the avoidable conflict in that country.

Apart from being killed, wounded or maimed permanently, women are subjected to all other forms of atrocities of war. Soldiers prey upon them, they are humiliated by being raped, sometimes in the presence of their husbands or children, and as a result of being raped they have a high risk of contracting HIV/AIDS. The burying alive of 15 Congolese women in South Kivu is still fresh in our memories. We are still awaiting and demand the findings of the investigation into this barbaric act.

The international community — and in particular the Security Council, which has the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security — cannot and should not allow continued mass displacements and major breaches of international humanitarian law to persist with impunity. The perpetrators of such crimes should be held responsible for their actions.

I should here like to emphasize the complementarity of action by the Security Council and by the humanitarian agencies in the field. It is clear that one cannot meet humanitarian needs while failing to address what caused the needs in the first place. In her last briefing to the Security Council, the outgoing High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs. Sadako Ogata, made concrete and forward-looking proposals to this end. We in the Council must therefore exercise the necessary political will to address the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo if the humanitarian agencies are to effectively bring long-term relief to the suffering masses.

The ongoing fighting is a great source of concern to my delegation, as it is not only a violation of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, but is contributing immensely to the displacement of innocent civilians. Clearly, the parties engaged in the current fighting are taking advantage of the minimal presence of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) in the country. We have no doubt that the presence of MONUC on the ground will act as a deterrent, that it will improve the humanitarian situation and thus prevent further loss of life, displacement and misery. We are heartened by the outcome of the second Maputo summit. It is our hope that the United Nations, and especially the Security Council, will not be found wanting again this time.

My delegation is grateful to all humanitarian agencies and organizations that are providing much-needed relief under difficult conditions. The safety and security of humanitarian workers providing that much-needed relief are therefore paramount. We are also grateful to those donor countries that have been providing resources for assistance to the Congolese refugees and internally displaced persons. We also wish to express our thanks to the European Union for its continued support for the needy people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Finally, we call on the donor community to respond generously to the forthcoming inter-agency appeal for 2001.

It would be remiss of me to end my remarks without expressing my delegation's thanks and appreciation to you, Mr. President, for having scheduled this meeting. Since 1960, when that gallant son of Africa, Patrice Lumumba, was assassinated, the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo have

never enjoyed social and economic prosperity. For 37 years, they lived under the rule of the most brutal dictator, only to find themselves and their country being attacked and besieged. The Security Council must not and cannot abandon the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The illegal exploitation of the mineral wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo should not take precedence over the dignity and humanity of the Congolese people.

The United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, must stay the course, fulfilling its responsibility in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Ms. Soderberg (United States of America): I commend your vision, Mr. President, in having this important meeting today. As we discussed this morning regarding East Timor, when other crises divert our attention we tend to let fall by the wayside some of the urgent crises before us, and I commend your vision in scheduling this meeting today despite the other pressing business that is occurring around the world.

I would also like to pay a special tribute to Carolyn McAskie for her leadership on this issue, as well as for her briefing on the humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo — as depressing as that situation is. As the Emergency Relief Coordinator for the United Nations she has a somewhat Sisyphean task in trying to address all these issues. We admire her tenacity in continuing to address what is by all accounts a very depressing and discouraging situation.

After looking at the situation and listening to Ms. McAskie's briefing and reviewing the notes that she passed out, I think that the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo demands the continued attention of the international community and continued pressing by the international community on all sides to do more. The people about whose suffering we have just heard certainly deserve no less. I think one has to admit that the Governments of the region — of the Congo, and particularly of Rwanda, Uganda and, obviously, the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as well as the various armed Congolese and other foreign rebel factions — all share responsibility for this humanitarian crisis that we have just heard described here today. I hope that if there is one unequivocal and clear message to both the Governments involved and the rebel sides involved it is that they should all hear today's programme of the international community and recommit themselves to the search for peace. To do otherwise is simply unconscionable.

It is important to remember that this crisis, this disaster — and I think that by all accounts it has to be termed a disaster on every human level — is entirely man-made, and that means it can be entirely solved by men, and of course by women as well. As Ambassador Levitte pointed out earlier, we do not have the choice of giving up. We must continue to address this issue. If one looks at this man-made disaster, the only conclusion one can draw is a broad indictment of those who seek to win or retain power by the force of arms.

The withdrawal of foreign forces from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in accordance with Security Council resolution 1304 (2000) and, let us not forget, the Lusaka Agreement, which all these parties signed, would greatly benefit the human rights and humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Governments have to be held accountable to their people and responsive to their needs. It is our view that responsive Governments resting on broad bases of support are necessary for the resolution of humanitarian crises.

The solution to the crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo involves political will, resources and time. Thus far the Governments involved have failed to demonstrate the political will, the international community has failed to marshal the necessary resources, and the lack of a functioning peace agreement has meant that the time for recovery continues to be delayed.

A solution will also require combating the deadly combination of three factors that have brought the Democratic Republic of the Congo to its present state. These three factors are foreign aggression, internal armed rebellion and unaccountable Government. We must work together to address all three.

During our January 2000 Security Council presidency, Ambassador Holbrooke, working with our Ambassadors in the region, asked Presidents Museveni and Kabila to cooperate in the reopening of the Congo River to civilian traffic. At the time, that proposal was not accepted, but after 11 months it deserves to be reconsidered. We call on Presidents Kabila and Museveni, as well as Movement for the Liberation of the Congo (MLC) leader Jean-Pierre Bemba, to work together to implement a viable ceasefire that should

include the reopening of the Congo River to civilian traffic.

The well-being of the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as well as their neighbours in the Republic of the Congo and the Central African Republic, is at stake. We make this appeal as part of a wider call on all parties to facilitate the operations of the humanitarian community, bearing in mind the fact that the Congo River and its tributaries are an essential lifeline for most of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

This Council is united in its support and admiration for the work of the humanitarian agencies in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Under difficult conditions, at great expense and often at considerable risk, the men and women of the United Nations and of the non-governmental organization and private voluntary organization communities have tried to alleviate the suffering caused by callous political leaders. We know that the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) is working here in New York and in Geneva to improve the humanitarian assistance to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We support those efforts, under the overall authority of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Kamel Morjane, and we will continue our own engagement on behalf of the innocent victims in this conflict.

Neither the United Nations nor any of its Member States can impose a solution to the crisis. A solution must come from the political leadership and be respected by all of the combatants, foreign and Congolese. The point of humanitarian assistance is to sustain vulnerable civilian life until such time as the political leadership can reach agreement. Until the parties can do so, we must continue to support the humanitarian community in its efforts. Those who facilitate and protect the entry of humanitarian assistance are to be commended; those who impede or divert such aid must be condemned for their actions.

The courageous work of Carolyn McAskie and OCHA and the other humanitarian organizations does not detract from the urgency of our own tasks. Rather, it reminds us that the sooner we see the withdrawal of foreign forces, the transformation of armed insurgencies into armed political parties and the creation of accountable government institutions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the sooner the Congolese people will be able to take care of themselves.

In closing, we believe that achieving the political objectives of a viable framework for peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and its region remains the key to resolving the humanitarian crisis. Until we achieve a peaceful settlement, we must all work together to support the life-saving work of OCHA and other organizations that are trying to protect the innocent victims of this conflict.

Mr. Chen Xu (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): At the outset, I would like to thank Ms. McAskie of the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) for her presentation.

We are now in the third year since the outbreak of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which has left millions of people displaced and homeless. Many refugees from the Democratic Republic of the Congo have fled abroad. At the same time, large numbers of foreign refugees have entered the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The humanitarian situation in that country and the region as a whole has further deteriorated. We are very concerned.

The Chinese delegation condemns atrocities against civilians. We call upon the parties concerned to truly comply with the relevant agreements and Security Council resolutions, cease hostilities promptly and find a political solution to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The continuation of the conflict has become the direct cause of the current humanitarian crisis in that country. Only by resolving the conflict can it be possible to fundamentally ease the humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

For some time now, regional summits on the question of the Democratic Republic of the Congo have been held one after another. We encourage this momentum in the search for a political solution to the conflict. We also hope that the parties to the conflict will implement the commitments they have made in earnest. We are of the view that the United Nations, including the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, should continue to work for the peace process in that country.

We appreciate the efforts made by humanitarian personnel under difficult conditions to improve the

humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We hope their safety and security will be ensured.

In conclusion, the Chinese delegation will continue to support the relevant work of the United Nations, and OCHA in particular.

Mr. Granovsky (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We would like to associate ourselves with the words of gratitude to Ms. McAskie for her very informative and substantive briefing. Unfortunately, this briefing reaffirms our own assessment of the humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo as being close to catastrophic. We have a very high assessment of the efforts of the international community aimed at not allowing a further deterioration of the humanitarian situation. At the same time, it is obvious that a long-term and stable solution to the humanitarian crisis is possible only through a political settlement of the conflict.

Our position of principle in favour of a speedy political settlement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, on the basis of the Lusaka Agreement, remains unchanged. We believe that, through the adoption of Security Council resolution 1304 (2000), the Council sent the parties to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo an appropriate signal concerning the need for an immediate cessation of hostilities, the withdrawal of foreign troops from the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the implementation of the commitments undertaken in accordance with the Lusaka Agreement without disruptions or backsliding.

Based on the lack of any alternative to a political solution in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, we consider the long-term cooperation of all parties to the conflict with the United Nations Mission, in accordance with the decisions of the Security Council, to be of the utmost importance, as well as the establishment of the inter-Congolese national dialogue, with the participation of all political forces of the country, in accordance with the Lusaka Agreement.

Now it is important to refrain from rash decisions and, with coordination between the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the Southern African Development Community and the States involved in the conflict, to continue to consider the most suitable forms of United Nations assistance to the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, including the establishment of conditions for the deployment of the second phase of the United Nations peacekeeping operation.

Mr. Tekaya (Tunisia) (*spoke in French*): On behalf of the Tunisian delegation, I would like to start by thanking you, Mr. President, for having convened this important meeting and for giving us an opportunity to hear the presentation by Ms. Carolyn McAskie on the humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I should also like to thank Ms. McAskie for her very useful presentation, which reflects both the scope of the humanitarian tragedy in the country and the untiring efforts deployed by the United Nations and its humanitarian partners to provide assistance to the people affected.

Indeed, the war that is ravaging the Democratic Republic of the Congo has shattered the life of the Congolese and has had disastrous consequences for a large part of the population. Its effects have struck harshly the economy of the country and have taken a heavy social toll. We can see the effects of the crisis in the daily life of the Congolese people. The Security Council mission that went to the Democratic Republic of the Congo last May was able to assess the breadth of the crisis, which has worsened since then, and forecasts of what will happen next are of great concern. All of the regions of the country are suffering the consequences of the war, but the situation in the eastern part of the country remains particularly volatile.

The humanitarian crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is marked by an increasing number of displaced persons, approaching 2 million, and they are increasingly vulnerable. Moreover, the movement of Congolese refugees towards neighbouring countries has created worrying humanitarian, health and security situations. In addition, tens of thousands of refugees from neighbouring countries have flowed into the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The Democratic Republic of the Congo is also facing a serious health crisis because of the spread of various diseases to which the refugees and displaced persons are particularly vulnerable, and also because of the weakness of the health infrastructure of the country. Food shortages have become serious. Education is also harshly affected by war.

The humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo thus poses many challenges for the international community and humanitarian organizations. The United Nations and humanitarian organizations play an essential role in saving the lives of those affected by war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in meeting the humanitarian needs of vulnerable populations. However, there are many obstacles in their way, making it difficult to accomplish their mission.

Today's meeting, which once again confirms the extent of the humanitarian crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, coincides with the launching by the United Nations, working with its humanitarian partners, of the joint humanitarian action plan for 2001 in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. This should mobilize the international community to increase its assistance to the Congolese people and its support for the efforts to establish peace and reconciliation in the country and in the region.

It is necessary to increase humanitarian aid in order to provide relief to the affected populations. We agree, however, that the effect on the general situation in the country will be limited if no progress is made in the peace process.

Last January, the parties to the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement reaffirmed here before the Security Council their support for the Agreement, and they undertook to respect its terms. Since then we have seen successive developments that have jeopardized the peace process, and the Security Council has stated its views on these developments. In addition, the long-awaited complete deployment of phase two of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), which gave rise to much hope, has not yet taken place, and the foreign forces have not yet withdrawn from Congolese territory as demanded by the Security Council in its resolutions. In the meantime, the humanitarian, economic and social situation of the Congolese people has been constantly deteriorating.

We have followed with interest the numerous commendable political and diplomatic efforts and initiatives that have been undertaken in recent weeks to save the peace process. The declarations of goodwill must now lead to action on the ground. Today, again, the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement is going through a difficult phase and requires new impetus. The discussion in the Security Council of the next report of the Secretary-General on MONUC will provide us with an opportunity to take stock of the situation, to confirm the commitment of the United Nations and to envisage the decisions to be taken.

Moreover, in the light of the close relationship between the problems shaking the Great Lakes region and the peace process under way, the adoption of a comprehensive approach to address these problems in a regional context is becoming increasingly necessary.

Mr. Ward (Jamaica): My delegation thanks Ms. McAskie for briefing us on the humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We also thank you, Mr. President, for scheduling this humanitarian briefing on the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The prevailing political deadlock in the peace process makes it easy to overlook the war's tragic consequences on the population. However, we need to retain our focus on the human dimensions of the conflict, and perhaps this debate will galvanize the warring parties to adopt a constructive attitude towards the resolution of the conflict.

My delegation is deeply concerned by the grave humanitarian situation prevailing in the country. The population affected by the conflict — some 16 million — and the over 2 million internally displaced persons and refugees in neighbouring States exceed the populations of many of the Member States of the United Nations.

We have been told that the magnitude of the crisis and the effect of the conflict on the delivery of aid have resulted in minimal humanitarian assistance being provided to populations in need. Most have to fend for themselves in a country in the grips of war with few or no possibilities for economic activity. This situation has the making of an immense human tragedy.

We are encouraged by the promise of President Kabila of the Democratic Republic of the Congo that United Nations observers will be given freedom of movement to oversee the fragile situation. We look forward to the implementation of this promise, and we expect that this same freedom of movement will be guaranteed by other forces involved in the conflict, not just for the observers of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of

the Congo (MONUC) but also for humanitarian personnel operating in the field.

Tens of thousands of Congolese citizens have sought refuge in neighbouring States. At the same time, over 330,000 refugees have fled to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The extension of regional conflicts to the soil of the Democratic Republic of the Congo makes the security of these foreign refugees and the 2 million internally displaced persons tenuous. These facts alone support the idea of a conference on the Great Lakes region and a comprehensive approach to the conflicts in the region as a whole.

Within the Democratic Republic of the Congo itself, the systematic targeting of civilian groups by the dozens of ethnic groups, armed rebels and soldiers from up to nine different armies has led to human rights abuses by all sides in this conflict. The cases of extrajudicial, summary and arbitrary arrests, detentions and executions are cause for great concern and must not go unnoticed or unpunished. The culture of impunity must be erased from the face of the earth.

My delegation commends the United Nations humanitarian workers in the field for the tremendous work they have been doing under very trying circumstances. We are pleased to learn of the close and collaborative efforts of the United Nations agencies, the Humanitarian Coordinator and MONUC humanitarian liaison officers and the streamlining of the existing coordination arrangements between the various relief agencies and MONUC. This has already resulted in an improved mechanism for the delivery of aid to those most in need.

My delegation is supportive of any action that would further enhance the efficiency of humanitarian agencies to deliver assistance as well as build confidence in the United Nations agencies and personnel. We note that these objectives could be achieved by enhancing MONUC's air capacity and by making that capacity accessible to all humanitarian agencies in order to reach the most remote parts of the country. Accordingly, we urge the international community to respond to the United Nations consolidated appeal for the year 2000, as well as that for 2001, which is to be announced shortly. It is understood that the 2001 consolidated appeal will have as two of its important components the support of community-based self-recovery initiatives, as well as the promotion of free circulation of persons and goods across the front lines. These are crucial elements for the eventual return to peace, when former enemies will have to resume normal contact with people who were once their mortal enemies.

Despite the successes of the humanitarian programmes, the only way to permanently alleviate the humanitarian situation is to finalize a comprehensive peace agreement. We are disappointed that the Lusaka Agreement has not resulted in overcoming the obstacles to a final peace. We recognize, however, the continued goodwill and commitment on the part of a number of countries in the region to address the situation and advance the peace process. We therefore welcome the news from Maputo that ministers from six Governments and two rebel factions plan to meet on Wednesday to work out details of a revived peace plan to allow United Nations monitors to supervise the ceasefire in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We trust that the process of peace will prevail. The Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the other concerned parties must demonstrate a commitment to the peace process.

The humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is yet another stark reminder of the human toll that results from conflict. It reinforces our own views that those who bear primary responsibility for making peace and fail to do so must accept responsibility for the continued suffering of the civilian population under the control of their guns. We have heard every possible reason for the failure of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, and in our view none of these reasons justifies the human suffering described by Ms. McAskie in her statement to the Council today. What is even worse — indeed, reprehensible — are the reports that all parties to the conflict fail to provide secure access to humanitarian aid for those in need in areas under their control. Leaders who perpetuate or ignore wanton human suffering of the kind existing in the Democratic Republic of the Congo will be judged by the bar of history and hopefully by their fellow countrymen and countrywomen.

Mr. Mohammad Kamal (Malaysia): My delegation joins previous speakers in welcoming Ms. Carolyn McAskie and in thanking her for the comprehensive and lucid briefing on the humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as well the useful document that has been given to us.

We are distressed at the continued precarious security situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the potential of that situation to further undermine the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement and Security Council resolution 1291 (2000). The national armies and numerous armed groups that are involved in the war between the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi have virtually devastated the country.

The entire socio-economic fabric of the country has been ruined. Infrastructure is non-existent, and areas that used to produce surplus food are no longer producing. Extreme poverty, which existed even prior to the current situation, has now reached catastrophic levels. The economic and political interests of all those present in the sovereign territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo have led to the effective partitioning of the country, the exploitation of its wealth and enormous ecological damage.

The saddest part of it all is that the Congolese people are aware of this situation but are helpless to prevent it. The worsening humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, particularly the increased insecurity in war zones, make access to the vulnerable populations very dangerous and difficult for the humanitarian aid workers. My delegation believes that it is critical for the parties to respect their ceasefire agreements and ensure the safe and unhindered access of humanitarian agencies to all areas of the country.

Many areas in the country remain inaccessible to humanitarian personnel due to the prevailing untenable security conditions. All parties to the conflict have an obligation to ensure the safety, security and freedom of movement of humanitarian personnel and unhindered access to all affected populations.

We have heard in the briefing of Ms. McAskie just now that there are about 2 million internally displaced persons in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, many of whom are languishing without any assistance. The vast majority of these internally displaced persons are from the occupied territories in the eastern part of the country, principally as a result of clashes between Rwandan and Ugandan troops in Kisangani, the intensified hostilities in the Kivus and the current fighting in the northern Equateur province. The increasing number of Congolese refugees has serious ramifications, not only for the Democratic Republic of the Congo but also for the neighbouring countries, with some 300,000 people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo now refugees in the Republic of the Congo, Zambia, the Central African Republic and Tanzania, as stated by Ms. McAskie just now.

My delegation is cognizant of the difficulties and complexities that must be overcome in order to achieve durable peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Nevertheless, no matter how complex and difficult it might appear to find solutions, the suffering of the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo compels us to make our best efforts to put an end to their misery. We agree that it is vital to create the conditions for lasting peace based on the full implementation of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement. The elements of such a peace must necessarily include the questions of security of the borders of the States concerned, their sovereignty and territorial integrity and their full use of their natural resources. In this regard, we support the call for the immediate cessation of hostilities and reaffirm support for the unity, stability, independence and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

At the same time, the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the Democratic Republic of the Congo must take place in accordance with the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement and as called for in resolution 1304 (2000). It is indeed regrettable that the parties continue to ignore the pronouncements of the Security Council and the international community.

It is for this reason that Malaysia believes that the timely deployment of a United Nations peacekeeping operation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is essential to the resolution of the conflict. Having listened carefully to the views of our colleagues here today, particularly those from the African continent, the Council should accelerate its deployment of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and implement faithfully and speedily resolution 1291 (2000). This is crucial in the current circumstances and will be a critical test of the Council's political will and determination. We believe that we must go forward from here, determined to make a difference in promoting peace and security for the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Finally, we wish to pay tribute to and encourage the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian

Affairs, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the World Food Programme and the non-governmental humanitarian organizations involved in caring for and facilitating the repatriation of refugees to continue their noble work despite the difficulties encountered.

Mr. Kassé (Mali) (*spoke in French*): I join other speakers in congratulating you, Sir, on having convened this public information meeting on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in thanking Ms. McAskie, through you, for her most edifying briefing.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo is a country of continental scope. Its stability has repercussions for that of the entire African continent and directly affects that of its nine neighbouring countries. The re-establishment of regional peace and stability will require the restoration of respect for the fundamental principles clearly reaffirmed by the signatories to the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, chief among which is that of the unity and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the inviolability of its borders. At the same time, the neighbours of the Democratic Republic of the Congo also have the right to live in security within defined borders, free from destabilizing activities launched from Congolese territory.

The other factor essential to the stability of the Democratic Republic of the Congo is national reconciliation. A third, additional factor for stability is the humanitarian situation, because, as members are aware, humanitarian crises often give rise to conflicts, but just as invariably conflicts give rise to humanitarian crises.

The Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs has just painted a picture of the deterioration of the humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. That picture could just as easily depict the human rights situation, as the statistics, refugees and displaced persons attest. The poverty, destitution, disease and famine rampant in the Democratic Republic of the Congo constitute in and of themselves violations of human rights.

This situation is a source of deep concern to my delegation, for the heavy price being paid by civilians in this conflict is unacceptable. It is equally intolerable that the intense fighting is hindering the access of humanitarian agencies to many regions, particularly the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, depriving vulnerable populations of the precious assistance they so sorely need.

It has been stressed innumerable times by the Council that humanitarian problems must receive direct attention, not only during the negotiation of peace agreements, but also from peacekeeping operations. This would indeed guarantee the prior planning required by the humanitarian elements of peacekeeping operations and allow the immediate mobilization of necessary resources. Moreover, the success of a peace agreement often depends, at least in part, on humanitarian intervention, particularly that which enables the return and reintegration of refugees and displaced persons, assistance to demobilized combatants, the restoration of sources of income for war-affected persons and help for ex-combatants in finding new means of subsistence. My delegation reminds the signatories to the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement that this instrument has numerous provisions for the simultaneous protection of civilians and their human rights, as well as for the delivery of humanitarian assistance via humanitarian corridors and the establishment of conditions conducive to providing emergency assistance to displaced persons, refugees and others.

Furthermore, similar provisions are to be found in the relevant resolutions of the Security Council on the Democratic Republic of the Congo. All the Council's resolutions must be accorded the same degree of importance and must therefore be implemented without discrimination or procrastination. In this respect, all the signatories and the international community, collectively or individually, must assume their responsibilities, for, more than ever before, the gravity of the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and its disastrous humanitarian consequences require every effort to be made to relaunch the peace process.

Today's meeting affords my delegation the opportunity to pay tribute to and thank the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, the World Food Programme, the United Nations Children's Fund, the World Health Organization, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, all the humanitarian agencies and the many non-governmental organizations that are actively seeking to address the catastrophic humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We

also thank the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) for its very positive role in supporting and assisting humanitarian operations. This humanitarian dimension of MONUC should be encouraged and developed.

In conclusion, Mali remains convinced that United Nations coordination, backed by a fully deployed MONUC — and I stress "fully deployed" — will allow us to improve the effectiveness of the humanitarian assistance that the Democratic Republic of the Congo so sorely needs today.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my national capacity.

The Netherlands, too, would like to thank Ms. McAskie for her straightforward briefing, depressing as it was. Apart from the misery heaped upon the Congolese people themselves, reference was made around this table today to the appalling circumstances in which humanitarian workers have to do their work in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the very acute dangers they face in this context. As recently as two weeks ago, we heard the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees make the case for improving the safety and security of United Nations personnel, especially in situations of conflict, in the face of the increasing risks they encounter in the field.

Of course, the Council addressed this issue as early as February this year and, on that occasion, issued a presidential statement. Given the present situation of an apparent deterioration in the security conditions of United Nations personnel, however, I intend to circulate, as a Security Council document, the petition that I received from the Coordinating Committee for International Staff Unions and Associations of the United Nations System and the Federation of International Civil Servants' Associations, which appeal to the Security Council to look into this issue further.

Switching to another subject, it is difficult to respond to a humanitarian briefing without talking politics. Some of the statements we have heard in this meeting bear this out. My delegation would like to make just one observation of a political nature.

Ever since the Security Council was invited to endorse the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, some delegations on this Council have tried to give our involvement a slightly different slant by, on the one hand, introducing the distinction between invited and uninvited troops — also characterized as "allies" and "aggressors" — and, on the other, glossing over President Kabila's reluctance to implement the national dialogue.

It goes without saying that every delegation is perfectly entitled to try and effect that adjustment, but we would like to point out that if the distinction between invited and uninvited troops had been made in Lusaka, and if the national dialogue had been deleted from the draft text, the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement would simply not have been concluded. Delegations that insist on these adjustments must therefore know what they are doing. It may be true that Lusaka requires an update. There seems to have been a consensus from the outset that the task Lusaka allotted to the United Nations by way of tracking down members of the former Rwandan armed forces and Interahamwe was hardly realistic. But an update of Lusaka is, of course, conceivable only if it is acceptable to at least all the signatory States.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

I call on Ms. McAskie to respond to comments and questions from members of the Council.

Ms. McAskie: First of all, I wish, through you, Mr. President, to thank the members of the Council for their very sincere expressions of concern and support for the humanitarian effort, in terms of support for the victims, support for the humanitarian agencies working on the ground, and support for the coordinating role of the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. I find particularly gratifying the growing synergy between humanitarian and political discussions which has increasingly characterized the work of the Security Council.

Let me touch first on some points raised by the representative of the United Kingdom, who made some comments about the coordinated aid strategy. We were very gratified by greater donor interest at a meeting held in October in Geneva, where a number of donors urged us to mount a much more aggressive humanitarian programme in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. That is one of the reasons why the consolidated appeal being distributed now is considerably larger than that for 2000. There is definitely interest in a broader strategic approach. What

one needs to understand is that the evolution of the consolidated appeal process means that that process now in fact represents a common humanitarian action plan, which is outlined in the document and which has in itself become a tool for a much more coordinated approach.

We see much closer cooperation between the United Nations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and I see — not just in the Democratic Republic of the Congo but also in other crises — a breakdown of the "them and us" mentality that has characterized relations between the NGO and the United Nations communities in the past. We recognize that some NGOs have very specific niches and that they should be respected; provided that we respect each other's roles, we find that it is getting easier and easier to work very positively within the framework of an overall common objective.

In terms of relations between the United Nations and the local authorities — the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo — and in terms of United Nations relations with parties to the conflict and of what obstacles are seen in those relations, perhaps I could just refer again to the issue of access. We find that access has been constrained, sometimes hampered, but sometimes also assisted. There is good and bad in every situation. Certainly, the Minister of the Interior of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo has helped overcome certain bureaucratic constraints. But at the same time, I recall the comment I made in my opening remarks about one notable instance of being unable to get access to an estimated 300,000 displaced persons in Equateur: that was because of delays in issuing travel permits — not that I would ever consider that that was deliberate. But it was an unfortunate byproduct of the very complicated and difficult situation on the ground. In terms of our working with rebel groups, it is true that they welcome humanitarian assistance. But no rebel movement is able to guarantee security for us.

What is interesting about the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is that in many parts of the upcountry areas it is not that the roads are deteriorating; it is that there are virtually no roads. As the representative of the United States mentioned, a lot of the traffic is by river. And a lot of the river traffic right now is dominated by military movements and rebel movements. What that means is that the humanitarians are denied access to the only form of transport in and out of some areas. What we would be looking for is guarantees of river access. But we would also want to be in a position to negotiate humanitarian access across the lines of conflict.

With respect to other constraints to the humanitarian effort, I mentioned the issue of child-combatant recruitment. I mentioned the exchange rate, and I could repeat that: the exchange rate issue is one that we would hope will be solved.

On the better side, as I said, in some areas our relationships with the authorities are very good. In fact, with the support of authorities at all levels, the United Nations is currently organizing a workshop on health and education issues in rebel-held Kisangani with the participation of specialists from all over the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In other areas, the Government is helping us with access to schools and to clinics. So it is a bit of this and a bit of that; there is no one specific answer.

In answer to a more specific question raised by the United Kingdom about where the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) could assist, the obvious area, of course, will be security for access. That goes without saying, and I think it is something we have consistently hoped for should MONUC be able to fully deploy.

But there is one specific area in which the Council might wish to consider taking action. At the moment, the funds voted for peacekeeping operations are very specific in the sense of being limited to activities undertaken by peacekeepers in the performance of their peacekeeping duties. There have been a number of instances where the humanitarian community has sought the help of a peacekeeping operation for transport, for example, because it is much more secure. Now, in the case of MONUC, in Kisangani for example, we had a recent instance of MONUC providing transport to the humanitarians. Because that is not budgeted in the peacekeeping effort, they have to charge us at cost, and their cost is twice as much as it would cost us to hire commercial transport on the local market. We have the choice of going for the cheaper one or going for the safer one. That will also be an issue in the request which Mrs. Ogata has made to MONUC — a request to which the Department of Peacekeeping Operations has gladly acceded — for assistance with MONUC transport in the assistance to refugees in the Central African

Republic and in the Republic of the Congo. Again, the issue of cost will come in. And this money is coming out of donor contributions to the humanitarian effort. One way or another, we pay; the question is do we pay through the assessed peacekeeping budget or do we pay through the voluntary humanitarian budgets. I leave that particular conundrum to the Council to consider.

In terms of the greatest security threats, these vary with the changing military situation. Currently, the greatest difficulties we have been facing have been in South Kivu, and also in Katanga. As I mentioned, we hope that further deployment of MONUC will expand the security envelope, which will promote the ability of humanitarian organizations to gain access to the populations.

In response to the question of my Canadian colleague, we do in fact believe that the presence of MONUC, with the additional security that it would provide, will facilitate humanitarian assistance. It is true that the presence of the United Nations is seen as controversial and that questions have been raised as to whether or not the humanitarian workers should go it alone. I think that, given the situation prevailing in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, we would welcome the security MONUC that would provide in terms of potential access and escorts and with regard to the issue of international witnesses.

With regard to the related question of civilian observers, which was raised by our French colleague, it is true that the deployment of civilian observers would increase MONUC's potential to see and report on human rights violations. Obviously, it should be noted that there are already 11 humanitarian affairs officers and child protection officers within MONUC who are working very closely with the humanitarian community. In fact, a multi-agency visit to the Democratic Republic of the Congo that took place just last week has recommended better organization of the coordination arrangements and even closer cooperation between the civilian aspects of MONUC and the humanitarian community.

Let me just add one point with regard to security. There are reports of the Secretary-General to the General Assembly on the security of United Nations and other humanitarian staff, and we know, of course, that the potential for raising budgetary funds for this is constrained by the fact that we will have to wait until the next biennium, as that is the budget cycle. In the interim, we have made a much greater concerted effort this year — with the full encouragement of donors — to include in the consolidated appeals a particular appeal for paying the cost of the security elements of each mission. Out of the total amounts being requested, we are requesting between $13 and $14 million across the board, not just for the Congo, for the cost of security.

I mention now, because this applies particularly to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, that we would encourage donors planning to contribute to humanitarian projects to also ensure that they fund this vital security line. Without a proper security regime in place for the humanitarian workers in the Congo, there is a very real danger that the projects themselves that we wish to support will not be able to go ahead.

I thank you very much, Mr. President. I hope that I have commented on all the points that were raised as questions. Once again, let me thank the members of the Council very much for their very strong words of support for the humanitarian community in their interventions this afternoon.

The President: I thank Ms. McAskie for her comments.

I shall now call on Ambassador Andjaba, but I know that Ms. McAskie has to leave at 5.15 p.m., and she should feel free to go if she wants to catch her plane.

Mr. Andjaba (Namibia): I will be very brief in order not to delay the departure of Ms. McAskie.

I thought this afternoon's discussion and briefing were very useful. I wish once again to thank Ms. McAskie for that, and for providing additional information in response to the questions and comments of members of the Council.

But, Mr. President, the usefulness of this meeting has been disturbed, to say the least, by what you said in your national capacity. I believe that you can distort whatever you want to distort, but the reality on the ground remains as it is. There is aggression against the Democratic Republic of the Congo. That is a fact; you cannot change it. There are invited forces in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and there are forces there that were not invited. That is a fact, and you cannot change it, even if you want to. Security Council resolutions are very clear on this matter. They make a clear distinction between invited and uninvited

forces in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It is therefore incomprehensible to hear you time and again trying to defend the aggressors instead of defending the victim. The Democratic Republic of the Congo is a victim of aggression. That is clear.

My delegation is flabbergasted by the way in which your delegation and you personally, Mr. President, have been approaching this issue. I did not intend to say this, but I have the right to respond to what you said in your national capacity. Again, that there are invited and uninvited forces in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is a fact that you may wish to distort, but your distortion will not change the reality.

I promised to be brief, and I have been brief. I reserve the right to come back again if you so wish, Mr. President. I am ready to spend more time in this meeting if you wish.

The President: There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4238

Security Council

Fifty-fifth year

Provisional

4238th meeting

Wednesday, 29 November 2000, 11.15 a.m.

New York

President:	Ms. Herfkens	(Netherlands)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Listre
	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Canada	Mr. Heinbecker
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Jamaica	Mr. Ward
	Malaysia	Mr. Mohammad Kamal
	Mali	Mr. Ouane
	Namibia	Mr. Andjaba
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Tunisia	Mr. Jerandi
	Ukraine	Mr. Krokhmal
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Ms. Soderberg

Agenda

The situation in Guinea-Bissau.

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

00-77015 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 11.50 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Guinea-Bissau

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of the Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Senegal, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I welcome the Vice-Prime Minister of Guinea-Bissau.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Imbali (Guinea-Bissau) took a seat at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Jagne (Gambia), Mr. Fall (Guinea), Mr. Gouveia (Mozambique) and Mr. Ka (Senegal) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Callisto Madavo, Vice-President of the World Bank, Africa Region.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Madavo to take a seat at the Council table.

I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 27 November 2000 from the Permanent Representative of Mozambique to the United Nations, in which Mozambique, in its capacity as President of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries, requests that an invitation be extended to Mrs. Dulce Maria Pereira, Executive Secretary of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries, under rule 39 of the Security Council's provisional rules of procedure.

That letter will be issued as document S/2000/1130.

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 to Mrs. Pereira.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I now call on the Secretary-General.

The Secretary-General: Let me begin by saying that I am very pleased to join the Council today for this important meeting on Guinea-Bissau, which could not be more timely. Last week's armed showdown between the head of the former military junta and the elected President, which nearly plunged the country back into turmoil, underscores the precariousness of the stability in that country, as in many others which are recovering from conflict.

In this connection, I should like to thank the Council for taking a firm and timely stand last week, as well as those leaders in and outside the subregion who have contributed to the peaceful end of the crisis. I wish also to commend my Representative, Mr. Nana-Sinkam, for his tireless peacemaking efforts. The situation has improved, but requires close monitoring.

I would like to take this opportunity, however, to urge the Government to manage the aftermath of the latest crisis within the rule of law and with due regard to democratic principles and national reconciliation.

Let me now turn to the main subject of my remarks, which is the challenge of post-conflict peace-building and some of the lessons to be drawn from the United Nations experience in Guinea-Bissau. Post-conflict peace-building includes a range of measures intended to prevent a relapse into a cycle of conflict and instability. To be effective, it needs to address the root causes of conflict, not just the symptoms. In the case of Guinea-Bissau, these causes include weak State institutions, a disgruntled and highly politicized army, endemic poverty, a crippling debt and an insecure internal and external environment.

Addressing such a grave range of causes requires, on the part of the Government and the international community, not only difficult political decisions, but also a serious and long-term commitment, supported by the timely deployment of resources. Regrettably, as the case of Guinea-Bissau amply demonstrates, neither the Government nor the international community is always fully prepared or able to play an effective role. A number of institutional and political lessons can be drawn here. I will mention just a few of them.

First, the political nature of many post-conflict crises requires action of the type which should normally be undertaken by a sovereign Government, but which the post-conflict Government may not always be in a position to undertake, owing to challenges from undemocratic forces. Ideally, of course, the newly elected Government should be in the driver's seat. But this is not always the case and may not be possible, particularly if State institutions are weak, the coffers are empty and the legitimacy of the Government is seriously challenged. This situation should, therefore, be taken into account when devising mandates for new peace-building missions or when revising the mandates or considering exit strategies for existing ones.

Secondly, because of its multi-disciplinary nature, post-conflict peace-building often falls between relief and traditional development assistance, and therefore its needs go largely unmet because it falls between these two. Although both the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Bretton Woods institutions — and I am happy that our colleague from the World Bank is here with us — have developed new and flexible financial instruments dedicated to post-conflict recovery, these instruments remain modest and under-funded. The donor community, including the international financial institutions, must find a way to strike a balance between the need for macroeconomic stability on the one hand, and peace-related priorities which require greater tolerance for public sector expenditures and budget deficits, on the other.

Thirdly, the representative of the Secretary-General is increasingly being asked to take on responsibilities for which his office is not funded or mandated. In the case of the United Nations Office in Guinea-Bissau, during the most recent crisis, my Representative was called upon by the Government and other political forces to play a "frontline" mediation role.

Such a role tends to be especially prominent in the early stages of a post-conflict situation, when State institutions are weakest, the legitimacy of a new Government is challenged and the distrust and animosity between the political and military forces are highest. But that role cannot be carried out without resources. I intend, therefore, to seek the legislative bodies' approval for one of the recommendations in the Brahimi report.

I refer to the recommendation, and I quote, that:

> "A small percentage of a mission's first year budget should be made available to the representative or special representative of the Secretary-General leading the mission in order to fund quick impact projects in its area of operations, with the advice of the United Nations country team's resident coordinator". (*S/2000/809, para. 47 (a)*)

I hope I can count on the support of Council members.

Peace-building is a multidimensional process. Its objective is not merely to dismantle the structures of violence but also to assist in building the structures of lasting peace and in laying the foundations of sustainable development. It requires comprehensive strategies involving all relevant actors and embracing multiple sectors of activity, including political, military, diplomatic, development, human rights, humanitarian and many others. In essence, peace-building is simply conflict prevention, but with the additional challenges of an immediate, fragile transitional situation. If we needed a reminder of this lesson, Guinea-Bissau provided it last week.

I am glad that you will continue to devote your efforts to making the Organization more effective in this crucial area of our mission for peace and security, and I look forward to the results of your deliberations.

The President: Mr. Secretary-General, that was a very important and profound statement. Because I think you touched upon all the important aspects of the case we discussed today, also reminding us of some of the lessons learned in earlier post-conflict situations, some of which, you reminded us, still have to be implemented, and it was important to draw our attention to that.

I now welcome and call on Mr. Callisto Madavo.

Mr. Madavo: Madam President, Mr. Secretary-General, we are indeed honoured and very pleased to be invited to participate in the discussion on this occasion.

As the Council knows, the World Bank has been supporting the Government of Guinea-Bissau in its reconstruction efforts. Our Board approved an economic rehabilitation and recovery credit in May that provides financial and technical assistance to reconstruction, including the demobilization of former combatants. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has also provided support through its emergency post-conflict facility.

World Bank staff are in frequent contact with the national authorities and with our multilateral and bilateral partners. We believe that, while the overall situation remains fragile because of tense relations within the existing coalition and the visible influence of the military in a generally unstable neighbourhood, the overall situation has improved in recent months on both the political and economic fronts.

Despite the recent instability in Guinea-Bissau, we are reassured by the elected Government's commitment to dialogue as an approach to resolve problems. We have also been impressed by the progress made in the preparation of new projects proposed for World Bank support and by the Government's overall reconstruction efforts.

While progress has been made in the above-mentioned areas, much remains to be done to restore normalcy. The energy situation is desperate; the financial sector is very weak; landmines pose a danger and, in addition, basic social services such as education and health have yet to be fully restored. The World Bank stands ready to assist the Government in those key sectors, but Guinea-Bissau will need to rely on the continued and expanded assistance of the international community if it is to overcome some of these challenges.

The World Bank has been working closely with the IMF, the African Development Bank, the European Union, the West African Development Bank and other multilateral partners in Guinea-Bissau, including the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Health Organization (WHO) and the World Food Programme (WFP).

We appreciate, in particular, the generous assistance of the Government of the Netherlands, with which we have been collaborating on the demobilization, reinsertion and reintegration programme. The Netherlands has been instrumental in financing the preparation of the programme, which is critical to complement the technical assistance being provided by the International Organization for Migration (IOM). While programme preparation has been moving somewhat more slowly than initially expected, after the deployment of technical assistance by the IOM, the situation has improved considerably.

A census of combatants has been under way, and we expect that in January a pilot programme will be launched, with a demobilization programme moving to full implementation immediately afterwards.

To mobilize financing for the programme, a multi-donor trust fund was recently set up in the World Bank at the request of the Government. Though the Netherlands has made an important initial contribution of six million guilders, this falls short of what is needed and assistance will be required from other partners.

The Council is aware that Guinea-Bissau is a highly indebted country which is being considered for debt relief under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Debt Initiative The staff of the World Bank and the IMF are currently preparing a HIPC decision-point document which will be presented to our Board on 14 December. Accompanying the analysis of our staff will be the Government's interim poverty reduction strategy paper, which it has recently completed after broad consultations with domestic stakeholders and external partners.

The interim poverty reduction strategy paper constitutes a serious initial effort to put together a package to promote sustained growth and poverty reduction. It highlights selected areas such as governance, demobilization, education, health and, no less important, the fight against HIV/AIDS.

The Government has already mobilized significant support from other donors but will require additional financial help to achieve its objectives. The proposed HIPC debt relief would give Guinea-Bissau a reduction of 85 per cent in net present value terms on

its multilateral and bilateral official debt. This would be the deepest debt relief granted to date. The debt relief would help Guinea-Bissau to keep up progress towards national reconciliation and to lay the foundations of sustained growth and poverty reduction. It would also contribute to paving the way for easing the tensions in the subregion, which has seen its share of violence, instability and growing poverty.

At a recent discussion of a HIPC preliminary document, the directors of the World Bank acknowledged Guinea-Bissau's track record in implementing macroeconomic reforms since 1998, and commended the country for its progress in reconciliation and reconstruction after the violent conflict that erupted in June 1998. They noted that, despite improvements achieved so far, Guinea-Bissau faces considerable challenges under the reform agenda. These include maintaining sound macroeconomic policies, improving governance, carrying out demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants, developing the private sector and reallocating public expenditures towards activities that promote growth, reduce poverty and enhance access to social services.

The executive directors of the World Bank further reconfirmed their preliminary determination that Guinea-Bissau is eligible for assistance under the HIPC Initiative, as I have already mentioned, on the basis of its high debt burden and the track record of performance under programmes supported by both the World Bank and the IMF.

To summarize, progress is being made to bring peace and stability, so necessary for Guinea-Bissau's development and the reduction of poverty among its people. We believe that the international community should take a risk for peace and accompany this process. The World Bank and the IMF are prepared to do their part in coalition with other partners and in support of the Government's own efforts.

The President: I hope that members will allow me to say that many of us very much welcome the increased involvement of the international financial institutions in post-conflict peace-building. I am not sure if I can say that beyond my national capacity, but many of us, I think, do.

I understand that you are talking today here also on behalf of the International Monetary Fund. If that is so, I warmly welcome it, because one voice from 19th Street, Washington, is a very good first step towards more coherence in the international development architecture that I think everybody would welcome here — I may again go beyond my national capacity; I am not sure how often I can do this.

I hope everybody will agree that it would be a good idea if I now give the floor to the Vice-Prime Minister of Guinea-Bissau, His Excellency Mr. Faustino Imbali.

Mr. Imbali (Guinea-Bissau) (*spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation*): I feel particularly honoured to have the privilege to take the floor on behalf of my country in the Council gathered today for a special meeting on Guinea-Bissau.

Allow me first, Madam President, to convey to you the warmest greetings from His Excellency the President of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, Mr. Kumba Yalá, who cannot be with us today, although he is with us in spirit.

The broad-based coalition Government — made up of the Party for Social Renewal and the Resistance of Guinea-Bissau-Bafatá Movement — resulting from the last elections assumed the responsibility for the destinies of our people in a most unique situation. The bloody political and military conflict of 7 June 1998 worsened the structural difficulties that have marked our country throughout the last 25 years.

The historical origins of these difficulties are linked to the adoption, immediately following independence, of a strategy of growth based on the central management of the economy. The strong governmental intervention in economic life distorted the allocation of resources and obstructed the adequate development of the farming potential of the country. Accordingly, the economy grew slowly and the country became dependent on international aid, aggravating the level of poverty of our population.

To correct internal and external imbalances at the end of the 1980s, Guinea-Bissau initiated its first structural adjustment programme, supported by two Structural Adjustment Facility agreements and two Structural Adjustment credits from the International Development Association. The results of these reforms were unsatisfactory, causing social indicators to continue to decline and relegating Guinea-Bissau to the group of the poorest countries in the world, with an extremely low human development index.

However, between 1997 and 1998, with the deepening of the reform process and the adoption of the African Financial Community Franc (FCFA) after the accession of the country to the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA) on 2 May 1997, the largest macroeconomic imbalances were reduced, internal production accelerated, primarily in the agricultural sector, inflation was reduced and the private sector began to grow and play a more dynamic role in the economy. Having been able to achieve an important economic performance in the short period of time allowed the country to regain the confidence of its development partners, the country saw a significant impact on its social indicators. The successful conclusion of the implementation of the triennial agreement with the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF) at the beginning of 1998 created the necessary conditions for the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to consider Guinea-Bissau eligible for the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative in April 1998.

Guinea-Bissau was three months from the HIPC decision point when the conflict of 7 June 1998 broke out. The conflict's deep-rooted causes were: the inadequate management of the demobilization and reintegration process of ex-combatants from the war of independence; the incapacity of the democratic process to gain roots and the frequent and unpunished violations of the Constitution; the blocking of the institutions that maintain the balance of power and of the mechanisms that guarantee transparent public management; the personalization of power, its exclusive service in the interest of groups and chronic internal instability with subregional repercussions; the postponement of local elections foreseen to complete the cycle of democratic consultations, which would have given the citizens greater participation in the management of the country; and the serious social crisis aggravated by the growing gaps between the rich minority, who took advantage of the opportunities created by their government positions, and the rest of the nation, impoverished and with lessening prospects of ameliorating their situation.

The consequences of this conflict were catastrophic, since, besides the loss of human life, the people of Guinea-Bissau were deeply traumatized by this civil war in a country with low population density and complex family ties. The level of poverty was further exacerbated. The use of heavy artillery caused the massive destruction of the socio-economic infrastructures, provoking the collapse of such essential services as health care and education. The destruction of the economic infrastructures and the decapitalization of the private sector are today considered to be sources of social ills linked to the decline of employment and the reduction of purchasing power.

One of the major effects of the armed conflict was undoubtedly the increase in the number of people living in poverty, the planting of an estimated 15,000 mines throughout the territory and the distribution of an undetermined number of light weapons within civil society.

To face the grim situation resulting from the war, the Government of National Unity, whose mandate was short-term, concentrated its efforts on the social and economic recovery of the country, the reconciliation of the people of Guinea-Bissau and the creation of conditions for the return of democracy through free and transparent elections. The round-table conference that took place in Geneva from 4 to 5 May 1999 was a way for the Government of National Unity to mobilize resources for its emergency programme.

The international community's pledge to donate an estimated $200 million to Guinea-Bissau has not materialized to this day. Nevertheless, the good intentions of some development partners have enabled the partial financing of the programme to demobilize combatants, the efforts to revitalize the private sector and the holding of free elections, allowing Guinea-Bissau to return to democracy with the creation of democratic institutions.

The broad-based coalition Government has a solid parliamentary base and, conscious of the challenges and difficulties posed in the light of the post-conflict situation and the high expectations of the people of Guinea-Bissau who voted massively for change, has elaborated a legislative programme based on earlier efforts at post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation, choosing as its primary objectives good governance and the fight against poverty.

During the nine months of its rule, the Government has given priority to the following: the creation of institutional conditions for the transparent management of state affairs, including the establishment of an office for public tenders; the international auditing process of state accounts; a diagnostic of public finances that was undertaken in

October this year by an independent consultancy; the reorganization and strengthening of the Court of Accounts and of the High-Level Inspection Against Corruption and the development of a national programme of good governance; the reorganization of the armed forces through the adoption of a series of laws and a programme on the demobilization and reintegration of combatants; the implementation of the necessary reforms for the re-establishment of macroeconomic stability, with customs and fiscal reforms in line with efforts for regional integration converging with the West African Monetary Union and the West African Economic and Monetary Union; the *ad referendum* agreement on a triennial programme (2000-2003) with the International Monetary Fund; the elaboration of an interim document on the National Strategy for Poverty Reduction on the basis of consultations with representatives of civil society, the private sector of the armed forces and development partners; and the reorientation of public spending, investing in social sectors and focusing on the need to guarantee stability, justice and public order.

I have the pleasure to announce that human rights are respected in Guinea-Bissau, a fact that can be confirmed by the President of the League of Human Rights of Guinea-Bissau, who is present in this room today. That institution has, in the past few months, developed joint actions with the Government for the promotion and protection of the rights and fundamental liberties of citizens. An example of such action is the training by the League of 250 police officers in human rights and citizenship.

A true separation of power exists in Guinea-Bissau, evident in the recent election of the President of the Supreme Court. There is also freedom of the press. However, government efforts have been overshadowed by two major factors: the insufficiency of financial resources to address the country's post-conflict problems; and the constant interference by a military group led by Brigadier Ansumane Mane, who has never hidden his intentions against the formation of democratic armed forces, but did conceal his intentions to overthrow the constitutional power, in complicity with some political parties, which culminated in the unsuccessful coup d'état of 22 November 2000. During this attempted coup, our armed forces mobilized themselves in defence of democracy, returned freedom to our people and submitted to constitutional order and the rule of law, in a rare example of stability in Africa.

Today more than ever, we are determined to fight for the development of our country. It is in this light that we appeal to the international community for help in overcoming the following challenges. First, our armed forces require reorganization. An important step has already been taken in this regard with the previously mentioned legislative package on the armed forces and national defence. However, the root of the problem concerns the current number of military personnel. The conflict of 7 June caused their numbers to triple, weighing heavily on the national budget. To face this situation, the Government is implementing, with funds from the World Bank, a programme for the demobilization and reintegration of combatants. Unfortunately, the credit provided by the Bank does not cover the more delicate issues of the programme, requiring the mobilization of additional financial resources. If this complex problem is not resolved, it will affect the Government's ability to mobilize resources for the social and productive areas.

The second challenge is the crippling debt burden, now exceeding $800 million, with debt-servicing costs at close to $34 million. A recent analysis of the sustainability of Guinea-Bissau's external debt, made in consultation with the technical bodies of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, indicates that, even with favourable levels projected for exports, the relation between the updated level of debt and Guinea-Bissau's exports, after the application of the traditional debt-relief measures, remains, in the medium term, substantially above the levels of debt sustainability in the context of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Debt Initiative. The Council will agree that, in the face of this grave situation, and without special treatment and the exemption of the traditional conditionalities of this debt, all efforts in the fight against poverty will be futile. It is in this light that we are working on a package of reforms and are making intense contacts with our bilateral and multilateral partners, hoping to receive from them the necessary assistance for that debt relief, within the context of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Debt Initiative.

The final challenge is peace and security at the subregional level, in particular in Casamance. The President of the Republic, Mr. Kumba Yalá, has always said, "Guinea-Bissau is not and will never be part of this conflict, but it will be part of its solution". I would

like once again to reaffirm to the Council my country's firm position in that regard.

The painful experiences of the war of independence and the recent political and military conflict of 7 June 1998, and its collateral effects, have taught us that war is not the best way to resolve a conflict. Bearing this in mind and respectful of the principle of good-neighbourliness, we are certain that true stability in Guinea-Bissau and in the subregion will not be possible without peace in neighbouring Casamance. We therefore make ourselves available to participate in a peaceful search for peace in the subregion, fully respecting the principles of national sovereignty and territorial integrity and the United Nations Charter. The contacts made by His Excellency the President of the Republic during his trips to Senegal, Gambia, Nigeria, Libya and the Republic of Guinea testify to his desire for peace.

Today, my country is considered the most stable in the subregion. For that reason, and because of its history, Guinea-Bissau intends to play a front-line role in the search for peaceful solutions regarding the resolution of conflicts and guarantees of stability in the subregion.

We sincerely believe we are following the right path. The challenges ahead are great, but they can be faced realistically. The Government and the people of Guinea-Bissau appeal to the international community to help us in the fight against poverty, in the consolidation of democracy and in assuring sustainable development for our country. Allow me to reaffirm our intention to continue to focus our efforts on guaranteeing the transparent management of the State and the rational and careful use of the resources placed at our disposal.

In closing, I would like, on behalf of the people of Guinea-Bissau, to express our most sincere thanks and our greatest appreciation for all that has been done for my country by the international community.

The President: I thank the Vice-Prime Minister of Guinea-Bissau for his very comprehensive and informative statement, which will greatly enhance the quality of our debate. I think that one of the lessons learned in post-conflict situations is that for post-conflict peace-building to be successful it has to be inclusive. I commend the Vice-Prime Minister on the fact that his delegation is indeed very inclusive: it includes representatives from the private sector — both for-profit and non-profit — and from parliament; I think that is a very good sign that post-conflict peace-building will be successful, because it will be inclusive.

Mr. Ouane (Mali) (*spoke in French*): I wish at the outset to welcome to this important meeting the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, and to thank him for his opening remarks, which were, as usual, most lucid. I wish also to welcome the high-level delegation of Guinea-Bissau led by the Vice-Prime Minister, His Excellency Mr. Faustino Imbali, as well as Mr. Callisto Madavo, Vice-President of the World Bank, Africa Region.

I must not fail also to thank the delegation of the Netherlands which, throughout its presidency, and building on the report (S/2000/809) of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations chaired by Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, has involved the Council in a most useful consideration of how to deal with crisis situations. Today's meeting, on the situation in Guinea-Bissau, is consistent with that approach.

Both the Vice-Prime Minister of Guinea-Bissau and Mr. Madavo admirably described the highly precarious situation, to which I shall refer solely to express my delegation's satisfaction at the political strides made and to censure the former military junta for its irresponsible actions taken, inter alia, through the events of last week. Mali is delighted also at the improvement in Guinea-Bissau's relations with Senegal and with Guinea.

Let me focus now on problems with regard to post-conflict peace-building in Guinea-Bissau. Here, I have three comments to make. The first bears on the domestic and external context for Guinea-Bissau. In the domestic sphere, it is clear that a legitimate, democratic regime is in place, but is unable to implement its policies. The determination of the people to bring about change, as reflected in President Kumba Yalá's decisive victory, is powerful, which defines the short-term and medium-term post-election policies of the new Guinea-Bissau authorities. It is key, first and foremost, to strengthen the spirit of national reconciliation, consolidate the rule of law, ensure the sound management of public affairs, restructure the economy, restructure the armed forces, implement a programme of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and combat the illicit circulation of light weapons.

Furthermore, on the international level, Guinea-Bissau must continue to improve relations with neighbouring States and to revive cooperation with the international community at large.

My second comment proceeds from what I have just said, and concerns the need to support the reconstruction of Guinea-Bissau. In the view of my delegation, two measures could prove useful here. The first would be to adopt an integrated joint approach involving the United Nations system and the international financial institutions, including the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Earlier, Mr. Madavo made encouraging commitments along those lines. Such synergy is essential as we pursue the process of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and the proper unfolding of the peace process in Guinea-Bissau. In the same vein, more closely concerted action by bilateral and multilateral partners would also help consolidate peace in Guinea-Bissau. In that regard, the round table to be held at Geneva in February 2001 will be a test.

I must also stress the adverse effect of conditionalities, of the debt burden and of unfulfilled pledges for assistance to the economic and social reconstruction of Guinea-Bissau, and hence to peace-building. Here, we call upon the donor community to make substantial contributions to the three-year programme scheduled to begin next year.

My third comment relates to efforts by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and by the United Nations to build peace in Guinea-Bissau. Their activities in that regard have been most complementary, which has made it possible to achieve some good results; now, those results must be consolidated. For its part, ECOWAS will continue to play its full part in this enterprise. We were pleased at the establishment of the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau, and we hail the very active role played by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Guinea-Bissau.

My delegation fully supports the draft presidential statement to be adopted at the end of this meeting because it fully reflects our concerns.

The President: In terms of logistics, when I flew in last night I first thought that we could do this in the morning. But I think members will agree with me that, if we are a little bit realistic, I should actually suspend the meeting for lunch and then we should return in the afternoon. I am actually planning to do that around 1.15 p.m., and then we could come back at 3 p.m. I thought it would be useful to announce that I have given up in terms of trying to finish our debate before lunch.

Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh): It is a special pleasure for Bangladesh to see you, Madam President, presiding over the Council's meeting this morning. I agree with the Secretary-General that we should have women presidents more often.

The presence in the Council today of the Vice-Prime Minister of Guinea-Bissau, Mr. Faustino Imbali, is very much welcomed by us, as is his statement.

We thank the Secretary-General for his important statement and his specific recommendations relating to the situation in Guinea-Bissau.

In his last report, the Secretary-General identified the progress made towards post-conflict peace-building in that country, as well as the challenges to that process. Those challenges were quite apparent during the past week, when the former military junta — or at least a part of it led by General Ansumane Mane — challenged the democratically elected Government, flouting constitutional order and threatening to plunge the country back into chaos and violence.

We are happy that the moves orchestrated by General Mane and his supporters have failed. Democracy and constitutional order have been upheld in Guinea-Bissau. This has to be consolidated by furthering cooperation and reconciliation in the country so that a smooth transition from conflict management to post-conflict peace-building can take place. We are encouraged by the statement made by the Vice-President of the World Bank that covered this and related areas. We would like to highlight five critical areas among the urgent tasks facing Guinea-Bissau in this transition.

First, strengthening democratic institutions and practices would prevent any relapse into violence. All parties concerned, and especially the former military junta in Guinea-Bissau, must therefore continue to uphold the results of the elections held last December and respect civilian rule in the country.

Secondly, without a successful process of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), permanent peace will elude Guinea-Bissau. The Secretary-General has noted in his report that a pilot

DDR project is to start in January 2001. This matter needs urgent attention. All constraints on successful DDR have to be addressed — not least of which is the question of timely funding — for there to be successful implementation of the peace process in Guinea-Bissau.

Thirdly, during the recent incidents a large number of people were internally displaced. They need the urgent attention of the international community.

Fourthly, sustainable development makes peace sustainable. Lasting peace in Guinea-Bissau depends on economic regeneration. The efforts of the Government can be successful only with significant international assistance. We hope that the resources needed will be forthcoming at the next round table, scheduled for February 2001 in Geneva.

Fifthly, and finally, peace in Guinea-Bissau depends on peace in the region. Bangladesh welcomes the timely initiatives towards stabilization of the border region between Guinea-Bissau and Senegal. We also welcome the efforts of the Economic Community of West African States and its Chairman, President Konaré, to achieve peace and stability in the region and in Guinea-Bissau. Our special appreciation also goes to the Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Samuel Nana-Sinkam, for his continuing efforts in Guinea-Bissau on behalf of the United Nations.

The President: I want to thank Ambassador Chowdhury for his call for more women presidents, particularly as it comes from him, as Bangladesh is, of course, one of the few countries of the world that can credibly make such a call.

Ms. Soderberg (United States of America): It is certainly a pleasure to be able to say "Madam President". I wish there were more madams around the table. I want to express our great appreciation for your presence here today. We also want to let you know how ably you have been represented by Ambassador van Walsum and his team during a very difficult month in the Council. We are grateful for you Government's leadership during this month. I think today's meeting is a testament to your Government's commitment to international intervention and the importance of resolving conflict and restoring order. The commitment of the Government of the Netherlands to post-conflict assistance to civil society in Guinea-Bissau is commendable, as is its support for economic recovery. I think it sets an example for all of us.

We are also very grateful to have Vice-Prime Minister Imbali and the delegation from Guinea-Bissau here. We also welcome the presence of the representative of the World Bank, Mr. Madavo, as a welcome testament to the importance of development in conflict prevention.

The United States commends the people of Guinea-Bissau for their commitment to peace and for their sustained efforts to work together to build a stronger society. We also applaud the work of United Nations personnel serving with the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau under the leadership of Secretary-General Annan's Representative, Mr. Samuel Nana-Sinkam, for their efforts to strengthen democratic values, promote the rule of law and encourage the protection of human rights in Guinea-Bissau. The United Nations Office represents a good example of the critical role the Organization can play in conflict resolution and post-conflict institution-building. A continued United Nations presence will serve to promote the continued viability of Guinea-Bissau's democratic institutions and to turn its attention to reconstruction and economic development. The United States support for the United Nations operation remains strong. We are pleased that the Council has given it a continuing mandate through March 2001.

While we applaud these signs of progress, recent disturbing developments in Guinea-Bissau have sounded some alarms. The fractious and ambiguous role played by General Mane and his loyalists has posed a major obstacle to reconstruction efforts since President Yala's inauguration last February. We call on General Mane and his entourage to refrain from interfering with the legitimate, popularly elected Government of President Yala.

We encourage the Government of Guinea-Bissau to develop a plan for the integration of former soldiers into the national economy, within the framework of the rule of law.

The international community would react negatively should Guinea-Bissau return to military rule under any guise. Guinea-Bissau is just beginning to recover from civil conflict. It needs peace, reconstruction and development. Nothing could hinder that more than renewed military intervention in governance. To that end, the people of Guinea-Bissau

need and deserve the support of the international community.

We should also take note of the fact that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are represented here today as an expression of their willingness to do their part. Thanks to international encouragement and intervention, Guinea-Bissau has taken the first critical steps towards the re-establishment of a society based on national reconciliation and democratic values. We must continue to support those efforts.

The United States remains committed to supporting Guinea-Bissau's recovery from two years of upheaval and disruption. We will continue to engage President Yala's Government to support the ongoing process of civil and economic reconstruction. As a member of the Group of Friends for Guinea-Bissau, the United States stands ready to do what it can to help. In a subregion fraught with many challenges and interlocking crises, the United Nations must likewise continue to do its part in assisting the Government and the people of Guinea-Bissau to build a strong foundation for peace.

The President: I thank the representative of the United States for the kind words she addressed to me, to my mission and to the Ambassador.

Mr. Levitte (France) (*spoke in French*): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The Central and Eastern European countries associated with the European Union — Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia — and the associated countries Cyprus and Malta align themselves with this statement.

The European Union would like at the outset to thank you, Madam President, for organizing this debate, which is a concrete and dynamic illustration of the challenges related to the consolidation of peace and the management of post-conflict situations. We listened with great interest to the comprehensive and detailed briefing given by the Vice-Prime Minister, Mr. Faustino Fudut Imbali, for which we express our deep appreciation.

With the return of democracy, the people of Guinea-Bissau had many high expectations: the restoration of civil peace and good governance, economic and social reconstruction, secure borders and the gradual strengthening of civil institutions vis-à-vis the former military junta. At this stage, however, we cannot but acknowledge that these objectives have been only partially achieved. In spite of the successful holding of legislative and presidential elections at the beginning of the year, which gave the new institutions unarguable legitimacy, the multidimensional nature of the crisis situation affecting Guinea-Bissau has magnified its complexity and has made it imperative that it be managed in a coordinated and truly integrated manner by all the partners concerned.

The return to peace and sustainable development requires that a solution be found to structural problems. These problems are not only of a political nature — such as the relationship between the civil and the military authorities, which has up to now been sensitive and complex, and the differences that exist within the Government; they are also of an institutional nature — such as issues related to the coordination of the Government team, the general lack of public services, and the dubious management of public finances; and of an international nature.

The European Union acknowledges in this respect that the support of the donors, be they multilateral or bilateral, has lacked a consistent and coordinated strategy. Specifically, the disbursement of the promised funds was probably too slow to promote the stabilization of the post-conflict situation and the success of the democratic experience resulting from the elections of November 1999 and January 2000. The security situation in Guinea-Bissau today is facing serious risks of internal destabilization, as last week's events showed once again, and possibly even of regional destabilization.

The appointment of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the establishment of the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNOGBIS) in June 1999 played a decisive role in the successful conclusion of the electoral process, which could not have taken place without the personal and sustained involvement of Mr. Nana Sinkam. His work, his courage and his determination also indisputably helped to achieve a successful holding last week in dealing with the threats of the destabilization of democracy.

While it is useful to begin considering right now the extension of UNOGBIS's mandate beyond March 2001, inter alia to promote the successful conclusion of

the demobilization process, there must also be a massive and determined commitment on the part of the donors in order to meet the upcoming deadlines, which are decisive.

For the European Union, this commitment cannot — at least provisionally — be based on the usual financial criteria and on classic ratios. Conditionalities must take account of the post-conflict situation. We must not lose sight of the fact that Guinea-Bissau's gross domestic product fell by 28 per cent in 1998, and that remunerated public or private employment has become scarce. The restoration of democratic sovereignty against a background of destroyed or pillaged facilities, failing telecommunications systems, depopulated administrations and public finances drained by the cost of maintaining the armed forces is a challenge that is almost impossible to meet without adequate international support. We must therefore consider and provide qualitatively and quantitatively appropriate assistance as soon as possible, with adjusted conditionalities.

The European Union believes that this assistance must include debt forgiveness and budgetary support, which would enable the Government of Guinea-Bissau to finance basic social services and ensure that salaries can be paid for a period of several months. Projects aimed at relaunching economic activities could also be implemented. For its part, the Government of Guinea-Bissau must, as soon as possible, determine what its requirements are in terms of technical assistance in order to ensure that this international assistance is properly managed. The European Union hopes to see a national effort aimed at remedying dysfunctions such as excessive per diems, overly numerous administrative missions and too many non-budgeted expenses. Changes in leadership and an in-depth reorganization of current practices must be accompanied at all levels by this necessary effort at recovery.

The new civil authorities in Guinea-Bissau had to cope last week with irresponsible behaviour on the part of some of the military forces. This was not entirely unforeseeable. The self-proclaimed military junta, led by General Mane, had not actually completed the process of its dissolution, in spite of the holding of legislative and presidential elections. The European Union welcomes the fact that the great majority of the military forces have sides with the democratically elected Government of President Kumba Yalá, as well as the support expressed by the people.

The European Union believes that in this new context, priority must be given to ensuring that such events do not recur and that Guinea-Bissau and the international community relaunch as soon as possible the process of demobilization, disarmament and, above all, reintegration of military and paramilitary forces and of former combatants. Now that a census has been completed of the former combatants and the paramilitary forces, a census of the armed forces must be taken expeditiously and transparently, so as to include in the 2001 budget a ceiling for troop strength that is realistic and financially viable. This is a prerequisite for the early conclusion of the demobilization programme.

The European Union calls on the Government of Guinea-Bissau to pursue a policy of open, inclusive dialogue allowing for the establishment of real national reconciliation. Guinea-Bissau needs peace. Guinea-Bissau also needs unity. We hope that this message can be heard by all. In this respect, the European Union will be particularly sensitive to priority actions intended to ensure respect for human rights and public freedoms. It also stresses the need to accept and preserve political, cultural and religious diversity.

In conclusion, I wish to return to the regional dimension of the Guinea-Bissau crisis. The European Union notes with interest the initiatives taken by the Senegalese and Guinea-Bissau Governments to limit the border incidents that occurred between June and September 2000. The European Union greatly welcomes the appointment by the Government of Guinea (Conakry) of a resident ambassador and the appointment by Senegal of a chargé d'affaires. The European Union hopes to see greater understanding among all the countries of the region and, in this context, the implementation of more efficient monitoring of trafficking in small arms, in keeping with the spirit and the letter of the Moratorium on the Import, Export and Manufacturing of Small Arms adopted by all the countries of the Economic Community of West African States in Bamako.

The President: Of course, Mr. Ambassador, in my national capacity I can say I agree with every word you said. But I also noted that the delegation of Guinea-Bissau and the World Bank were taking down with enthusiasm some of the things you said about the

massive commitment of donors, the need for debt relief and budget support, and although this is not a pledging session, we will take that with us towards that particular session.

Mr. Heinbecker (Canada) (*spoke in French*): We welcome your presence among us today, Madam President, at this timely meeting on Guinea-Bissau. The events of last week showed how important it is for the Council to maintain its commitment to the efforts being made by Guinea-Bissau to strengthen peace and consolidate democracy.

(*spoke in English*)

Canada is pleased with the return to peace in Guinea-Bissau, and we welcome the Vice-Prime Minister and his delegation to our consultations today and the opportunity to discuss the situation directly with him.

Canada joins other members of the Council in reiterating support for the democratically elected Government of Guinea-Bissau. We urge the Government to continue its efforts to strengthen democratic institutions, including the subordination of the military to civilian rule. Military challenges to Government authority only destabilize Guinea-Bissau and the region more generally. Further, the continuing commitment of the international donor community and the viability of its efforts depend on maintaining stability in Guinea-Bissau.

In this regard, Canada agrees fully with the point of the draft presidential statement that stresses the importance of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration as a key element for promoting sustainable democracy and stability, and we commend particularly the efforts of the Bretton Woods institutions, especially the World Bank, in this connection.

We support the work of the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau for the consolidation of peace and democracy and the promotion of respect for human rights and the rule of law.

We commend the President of Senegal, the Economic Community of West African States and the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries for their contributions. We urge all the parties to work together to address the root causes of unrest in order to restore lasting peace for the benefit of the people of Guinea-Bissau and stability for the region.

With respect to the Secretary-General's requests for Council members' support for the implementation of the Brahimi report, particularly as regards quick impact project funds for his special representatives abroad, he can count on Canadian agreement.

The President: I think I can say, on behalf of the Secretary-General — I shall pass on the good news — that you reacted promptly indeed to his question on this particular recommendation, and he will be very pleased to hear that within two hours, at least your country is behind him.

Mr. Harrison (United Kingdom): My delegation would like to thank you, Madam President, and your Mission for taking the initiative of holding this debate today. It is important not just for Guinea-Bissau, but also for demonstrating how this Council can take a holistic approach to the problems of conflict. My delegation would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his very thoughtful introduction to today's debate.

The Permanent Representative of France has just spoken on behalf of the European Union, and my delegation endorses everything he has said. I would just therefore like to make three brief points.

First, we were very grateful for the speech made by the Vice-Prime Minister of Guinea-Bissau, in which he reiterated his Government's intentions to restore political and economic stability to the country, which we welcome. We believe that the recent stand-off between the Government and the junta leader, General Mane, has shown that the military is prepared to support a democratically elected civilian president. That said, we believe that the demobilization of Guinea-Bissau's very large post-conflict army, which has as many as 25,000 men, is a very high priority and a political and economic necessity.

Finally, I think this debate has shown, as we believe, that now is the right time for the international community to demonstrate its support for Guinea-Bissau.

The President: Thank you very much, Mr. Ambassador for that short and focused statement.

Mr. Listre (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): I wish to thank you, Madam Minister, for presiding over our

deliberations, your delegation for its initiative to convene this debate and the Secretary-General for the information and comments he has shared with us on the situation in Guinea-Bissau. I also wish to welcome the Vice-Prime Minister of that country and the important delegation that accompanies him this morning at this Security Council meeting.

We believe that the political developments of this past week in Guinea-Bissau make even more relevant our debate on the transition processes towards peace-building activities in those countries that, like Guinea-Bissau, are emerging from conflict situations. This shows the critical importance of transition periods and the need to strengthen them with all the necessary support of the Security Council and other United Nations organs.

We also believe that lessons can be drawn from the situation of Guinea-Bissau and applied to other transition processes.

In our view, the situation in Guinea-Bissau cannot be analysed in isolation; rather it should be considered within a subregional context. It cannot be separated from the political, military, economic and social situations prevailing in other West African countries, and particularly from the growing instability on the common border between Sierra Leone, Guinea and Liberia.

Guinea-Bissau entered a period of relative calm following the presidential elections held at the beginning of this year. However, the Security Council must closely follow the transition process even if the conflict appears to have ended. Factors of instability endure, as the recent insubordination of General Mane shows. In this case, as in others, post-conflict democratic institutions are often weak and must be supported by the international community concretely and effectively.

A multidimensional conflict such as that in Guinea-Bissau reinforces the need for a coordinated and integrated approach involving the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the relevant specialized agencies, the Bretton Woods institutions and the community of donor countries. In this context, we believe that we should be considering ways of making more operational and effective Article 65 of the Charter on cooperation between the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

This coordinated and holistic approach must be adopted not just during the peace-building phase, but earlier, as the conflict is developing. That is why we believe that in the case of Guinea-Bissau, as with other conflicts since the end of the cold war, it is not possible to draw a clear-cut and definitive dividing line between peacekeeping and peace-building activities. They can, and often must, begin at the same time.

The humanitarian, institutional and economic consequences of the conflict in Guinea-Bissau have shown that bringing about lasting peace and reconciliation requires far more than a ceasefire. The conditions necessary for sustainable development within democracy must be created.

The United Nations agencies, the Bretton Woods institutions and the developed countries can, and must, play a fundamental role in building peace in Guinea-Bissau. Reducing or forgiving its external debt, granting preferential credit, opening markets to its products and increasing official development assistance and private investment will help to create a climate of stability and enable the people to enjoy the benefits of peace.

At the same time, it is clear that the primary responsibility for the resolution of the conflict rests with the leadership of Guinea-Bissau. It must be motivated by the political will to overcome the root causes of the conflict, accept the conditions imposed by the rule of law and embrace the goals of reconstruction. The Security Council and the international community must, of course, support this process, but they cannot be a substitute for the political will of the parties to make peace and to live in peace.

I would not want to conclude without expressing Argentina's appreciation for the tireless work carried out by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau, Mr. Samuel Nana-Sinkam. We should also like to express our appreciation to the Economic Community of West African States and the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries for their constant support for the people of Guinea-Bissau as they move towards peace, progress and national reconciliation.

Mr. Granovsky (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We endorse the words of gratitude expressed to you, Madam President, for organizing this important debate. We are pleased to welcome the participation in

our discussion of the Vice-Prime Minister of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, His Excellency Faustino Imbali. We listened very carefully to his statement, which provided an in-depth analysis of the situation in the country, the Government's policy and the tasks facing the people of Guinea-Bissau. We should also like to thank the Secretary-General for his important statement.

It is remarkable that today we are discussing not only the problems of Guinea-Bissau, but the broader problem of ensuring stable post-conflict peace-building. Finding a way to resolve these problems is extremely important from the perspective of a long-term political settlement, including all the main elements, ranging from the demobilization of former combatants to the social and economic aspects, as well as from the practical point of view, particularly as regards the role of the United Nations in Guinea-Bissau. In this connection, I should like to stress the particular importance of coordinating activities within the United Nations system. Such activities must be directed towards the targeted resolution of social problems so as to overcome the consequences of the crisis.

The development of events in Guinea-Bissau provides a good illustration of the ideas that I have just expressed. We share the concern of the international community about the recent political crisis in the country and, together with other members of the Council, we appeal to all the social and political forces in Guinea-Bissau to act solely within the bounds of the Constitution.

With regard to the continued presence of the United Nations in this African country, we believe that the presence of the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau is particularly important. We believe that that Office should continue to play its important initiating role of coordinator.

The President: In view of the lateness of the hour, if there is no objection, I propose to suspend the meeting now.

The meeting was suspended at 1.15 p.m.

Security Council

Fifty-fifth year

Provisional

4238th meeting

Wednesday, 29 November 2000, 3.10 pm
New York

President	Ms. Herfkens	(Netherlands)
Members	Argentina	Mr. Listre
	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Canada	Mr. Heinbecker
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Jamaica	Mr. Ward
	Malaysia	Mr. Mohammad Kamal
	Mali	Mr. Ouane
	Namibia	Mr. Andjaba
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Tunisia	Mr. Jerandi
	Ukraine	Mr. Krokhmal
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Ms. Soderberg

Agenda

The situation in Guinea-Bissau.

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

00-77199 (E)

The meeting was resumed at 3.10 p.m.

The President: Before I give the floor to the next speaker, I would like to say that I would not mind our having a more interactive debate. Members may wish to come back to something that someone else has said. There will be a second round, but if members feel that it would be useful to intervene earlier, and tell me so, I will give them the floor.

Mr. Wang Yingfan (China) *(spoke in Chinese)*: Madam President, I would like to begin by welcoming you to New York, as you preside over this meeting. We appreciate the efforts made by the delegation of the Netherlands in organizing this meeting. We also welcome the presence of the Vice-Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Guinea-Bissau and of the Executive Director of the World Bank. I would like to thank them both for their presentations.

With the end of last week's turmoil, the situation in Guinea-Bissau has moved towards tranquillity. This short episode clearly shows that there is still a long way to go before peace can be consolidated in Guinea-Bissau. The international community should remain involved in the affairs of that nation, provide it with support and help it achieve peace, stability and development.

We support the popularly elected Government of Guinea-Bissau and call upon the members of the former military junta to respect the choice of the people and cease interfering in the political process. We reiterate the importance and urgency of carrying out the process of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration in a timely and comprehensive manner. We also urge the parties concerned in Guinea-Bissau to actively participate in the process.

Guinea-Bissau faces a formidable task of rebuilding in all areas and needs the international community's urgent assistance. This morning the representative of the World Bank described to us the work done by the relevant agencies to help Guinea-Bissau overcome its difficulties and start reconstruction at an early date. We appreciate these efforts. We hope that the international community will continue its efforts in this area and that the donors' round table to be held in Geneva next February will achieve substantial results. We believe that in assisting post-conflict peace-building in Guinea-Bissau, the United Nations system and related agencies should, in accordance with their own mandates, strengthen mutual cooperation and coordination so that the efforts undertaken of the international community in Guinea-Bissau achieve effective results.

In conclusion, I wish to take this opportunity to thank the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNOGBIS) for its successful efforts. We support the work of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sinkam, and his team. We hope that the Office will play its due role in coordinating post-conflict peace-building work in Guinea-Bissau so as to make further contributions to the cause of peace and development in that country.

The President: I thank the Ambassador of China for his very constructive and positive statement.

Mr. Jerandi (Tunisia) (*spoke in French*): Allow me, Madam President, to thank you for the commendable initiatives your delegation has taken in order to enable the Council to deal with this important question. I would also like to thank the Vice-Prime Minister of Guinea-Bissau and the representative of the World Bank for their very important statements.

Despite the return to calm, the situation in Guinea-Bissau continues to require the ongoing mobilization of the international community in support of that country. The failed attempt by General Mane to regain control of the army by force is a stark reminder that the peace-building process in the country is still fragile and that there can be lasting stability only if the military junta recognizes the authority of the democratically elected civilian power, particularly of President Yalá, and withdraws completely from the political scene.

Nevertheless, the attitude displayed by the young servicemen during this crisis offers a glimmer of hope, being a sign of the emergence of a new generation that respects the rule of law and the primacy of constitutional institutions. The political dialogue which has been started between the two parties in power, the efforts made by the Assembly of Guinea-Bissau to reconcile differences between the Government and the army, as well as the organization of municipal elections, which we hope will take place as planned before the end of the year, can only strengthen trust among the people of Guinea-Bissau, and deserve our encouragement and strong support.

My delegation also believes that the strengthening of the police force and the speeding up

of the process of demobilization and reintegration of former combatants will definitely make it possible to further consolidate a climate of peace and security in Guinea-Bissau, provided, of course, that the necessary resources are mobilized in time.

We would also strongly encourage the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNOGBIS), whose role is very valuable, to intensify their efforts and to bring together all the political factions in a spirit of reconciliation and cooperation.

The current crisis in Guinea-Bissau prompts the international community to redouble its efforts to help the Government to establish real civilian authority in the country, as well as democratic institutions. This process clearly must go hand in hand with economic recovery and reconstruction of the country. However, this difficult but very necessary task can be completed only if the international community continues to support and assist Guinea-Bissau, whose growing needs are becoming ever more urgent. The extreme poverty in the country, the precariousness of its economic situation and the inability of the Government, because of lack of resources, to meet the most elementary needs of the population are all factors highly conducive to political instability and social unrest.

We cannot hope to establish real, lasting peace and stability if the economic situation remains precarious, if the unemployment and underemployment rate remains as high as it is and if the public sector bills are not paid on time.

The international community must match its commitment to Guinea-Bissau with specific measures to ease poverty and relieve its external debt. Hence the need for urgent action to prevent the country from sliding into another crisis whose consequences would be disastrous for the country and for the people of Guinea-Bissau, who have suffered too much already, particularly since experience has shown us that preventive action is much more productive and costs less.

Aware of all these security, economic and social priorities, Tunisia, which has always advocated the eradication of poverty as a factor of stability, strongly supports the appeal of the Secretary-General for the international community, as well as the world's financial institutions, to assist the Government of Guinea-Bissau in its efforts and to provide urgent financial and economic assistance before the round table to be held in February.

The President: I thank the representative of Tunisia for his encouraging statement.

Mr. Ward (Jamaica): Madam President, my delegation is pleased to see you presiding over the Council, and we thank your delegation for scheduling this meeting.

We are also pleased that the Government of Guinea-Bissau has taken full advantage of the opportunity presented by this open meeting of the Security Council. Vice-Prime Minister Faustino Fudut Imbali has set out for us the programme priorities of his Government. This morning the Secretary-General opened our discussion by emphasizing the importance of this meeting.

We also welcome the statement of Mr. Callisto Madavo, Vice-President of the World Bank, who informed us of the role of the international financial institutions in the post-conflict peace-building process under way in Guinea-Bissau.

When my delegation first proposed that the Council convene an open briefing on the situation in Guinea-Bissau it was for the simple purpose of focussing attention on the Government's post-conflict priorities and of garnering support for its efforts to provide the necessary financial and material resources to give effect to those priorities.

My delegation believes that the international community must appreciate that the commitment to peace does not end with the cessation of hostilities in a conflict. Rather, the true measure of long-term peace involves the building of democratic, social and economic institutions and practices in order to consolidate and maintain peace. It involves national efforts for reconciliation, tolerance and the peaceful management of differences. These efforts need the involvement of civil society to overcome the suspicion and animosity built up during the period of conflict.

The events of the past week demonstrate just how tenuous the hold on elected office can be if there are divisive elements in the society seeking to thwart the restoration of full democracy. These events also demonstrate, vividly, the urgency of the consolidation of the Government's peace initiatives.

My delegation is satisfied that the situation in the country has apparently stabilized and that there appears to be no permanent damage to the legitimate Government of President Kumba Yalá. The key challenge which must be squarely addressed is the need for the former military regime to withdraw from the process and subordinate itself to the constitutional authorities. This will be an important step towards the realization of democratic rule and the creation of the necessary institutions to support the restoration of lasting peace, stability and sustainable development in Guinea-Bissau.

The creation of these institutions will not happen in a vacuum, but depends on the establishment of practices of good governance, including the empowerment of individuals and communities. The challenge for the Government of Guinea-Bissau is to create a system of governance that promotes, supports and sustains human development; especially for the poorest of the poor. Successful States create a body of laws and practices around which a country's population can gravitate, secure in the knowledge that the Government and State apparatus exists for their benefit, that they are better off with a government than without.

The United Nations Development Programme has termed this approach sustainable human development. This means development that not only generates economic growth, but that also distributes its benefits equitably and empowers men and women rather than marginalizing them. In this regard, my delegation welcomes the commitment of the Guinea-Bissau Government to post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation, electing as its primary objectives good governance and the fight against poverty.

The successful outcome of the post-conflict transition in Guinea-Bissau will stand as a test of the international community's resolve to enable formerly war-torn countries to establish the institutions which will prevent a return to conflict. For its part, the Security Council must ensure that, at the very outset, or as soon as practicable, peace-building measures are included as an integral part of the planning of peace operations. This requires a partnership with the Secretariat in developing a doctrine of peace-building strategies and programmes in an integrated and comprehensive approach to conflict situations.

In the case of Guinea-Bissau, which is now ranked among the poorest countries in Africa, the international financial institutions will need to address themselves to mobilizing financial resources to facilitate the rehabilitation, reconstruction and development priorities identified by the Government.

My delegation is of the view that the challenges of the post-conflict situation in Guinea-Bissau require an integrated and consolidated form of support by all concerned agencies, including the United Nations system, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as well as bilateral donors. We hope that this occasion has served to sensitize these institutions to the need for lenient and constructive policies which will meet the pressing and urgent needs of the post-conflict society.

Again, as I stated earlier, recent events have emphasized that there should be no gap between peacekeeping and peace-building. We are pleased to learn from Mr. Madavo that the World Bank and the IMF are taking action to address the post-conflict peace-building priorities of Guinea-Bissau, including the urgent problem of Guinea-Bissau's debt burden. There is no room for delay; time is of the essence.

In this regard, my delegation fully endorses Secretary-General Kofi Annan's statement that the donor community, including the international financial institutions, must exercise greater flexibility and, to use the Secretary-General's words, "greater tolerance" (*supra.*), when addressing peace-related priorities, which require public sector expenditures and budget deficits. Old boilerplate prescriptions and conditionalities may not be appropriate in these circumstances and should not be applied across the board.

My delegation commends the work of the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau and, in particular, the timeless efforts of Mr. Nana-Sinkam in carrying out post-conflict peace-building in Guinea-Bissau.

The President: I fully acknowledge your efforts with regard to today's agenda and thank you for your strong engagement with the plight of the people of Guinea-Bissau.

Mr. Krokhmal (Ukraine): My delegation would like to join previous speakers in commending the Netherlands presidency for its initiative to convene an

open briefing on the situation in Guinea-Bissau, which is in the process of post-conflict peace-building. We would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his important statement to open the discussion.

My delegation welcomes Mr. Imbali, Vice-Prime Minister of Guinea-Bissau, as he takes part in this meeting of the Council. We also believe that the participation of representatives of financial institutions and subregional organizations today will send a strong signal of international encouragement and support to the people of Guinea-Bissau in their peace-building and reconstruction efforts.

We agree that Guinea-Bissau is a good example of a case that should be considered by the international community in the context of the recent discussions on the peacekeeping and peace-building strategies of the United Nations. In this connection, we hope that today's discussion will make for a valuable contribution to the promotion of the effective coordination of the international assistance and support for the post-conflict reconstruction in the country.

In the light of the recent political developments in Guinea-Bissau, which threaten to undermine the progress achieved so far, it is particularly important now to uphold civilian rule and the rule of law, as well as to ensure the depoliticization of the army. We believe that the continued disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process, with the proper funding, would significantly advance the successful implementation of the peace process.

The pressing economic situation constitutes yet another challenge as the country emerges from the conflict. Significant financial and economic aid from the international community is indispensable in helping to ensure the socio-economic rehabilitation and reconstruction of the country and in promoting the prospects for sustainable peace and development. At the same time, it is equally important that the Government continue to do its utmost to build on the gains and to make progress towards these goals.

We are particularly pleased to note the efforts being made by the Government of Guinea-Bissau for the strengthening of democratic institutions and the promotion of macroeconomic stability. The unstable regional context remains a serious security challenge for the country at this particular phase of peace-building. We welcome the bilateral initiatives aimed at the stabilization of the common border region and building confidence between the neighbouring countries. My delegation would like to commend the important role that the regional organizations — the Economic Community of West African States and the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries — are playing in support of peace and democracy in Guinea-Bissau. We would also like to note the outstanding work of the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNOGBIS) and the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Nana-Sinkam, in facilitating the consolidation of peace and the promotion of the democratization process. My delegation welcomes the proposal by the Secretary-General to extend the mandate of UNOGBIS until the end of 2001.

In conclusion, I would like to express my delegation's support for the draft presidential statement that will be adopted shortly. We strongly believe that the consolidation of political and development efforts in support of post-conflict peace-building and reconstruction in Guinea-Bissau, within an integrated and coordinated approach among all the actors involved, will ensure success in achieving long-term peace and stability in the country.

The President: I thank the representative of Ukraine for that very focused and constructive statement.

Mr. Mohammad Kamal (Malaysia): First and foremost, my delegation would like to welcome you, Madam President, to New York and to say how pleased we are to see you preside over the Council's meeting today in such a charming manner. We commend you and your delegation for the convening of this important meeting on the situation in Guinea-Bissau. We also view this meeting as an extension of the very useful thematic debate in the Council that your delegation cleverly initiated on the item entitled "No exit without strategy". Hence, we find this meeting very relevant, appropriate and timely.

We also wish to thank the Secretary-General for his briefing and update on the situation in Guinea-Bissau.

We wish to warmly welcome Mr. Faustino Fudut Imbali, Vice-Prime Minister of Guinea-Bissau, to this meeting and to thank him most sincerely for his important statement. The Council's continued engagement in the situation in Guinea-Bissau is pertinent given the efforts of the Government of

Guinea-Bissau to put in place democratic reforms and to rebuild the country following years of civil strife.

My delegation notes that for quite some time now, particularly following the successful holding of both the legislative and presidential elections in Guinea-Bissau, the Council has viewed Guinea-Bissau as a test case, so to speak, of how a post-conflict situation could be handled, and handled successfully, by the parties concerned, with the support of the international community. However, the disturbing events of last week clearly underline that the Security Council must continue to monitor closely the fragile democracy that is still taking root in that impoverished West African nation.

It has been especially worrying that members of the former military junta have continued to resist taking concrete actions to honour previous commitments to withdraw from the political process and to accept the authority of the democratically elected institutions. Their continued interference and maintenance of a high public profile more than nine months after the inauguration of the new President is simply unacceptable.

The chaotic situation last week following General Mane's rebellion is regrettable, and the irresponsible act only served to plunge the democratic institutions, still in their infancy, into political turmoil. Although General Mane is still at large, we are nevertheless hopeful that the Government and the people of Guinea-Bissau can quickly put the episode behind them and focus fully on enhanced efforts for national reconciliation, the consolidation of peace and the rebuilding of the country.

Many had considered Mr. Yalá's victory a vote for change, one that would complete the process towards the return of civil rule in that country. If democratization is to be fully consolidated, all those concerned must work together to strengthen democratic values, protect the rule of law, depoliticize the army and safeguard human rights.

We cannot underestimate the continued importance of the role that the international community could play to support the Government of Guinea-Bissau in the consolidation of the progress achieved thus far, and in this regard we commend sincerely, as others have done, the key roles of both the Economic Community of West African States and the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries during the transitional process. In addition, the ability of this Organization to fulfil its critical facilitation role in Guinea-Bissau is also very dependent on the continued and additional support of the international community.

We note in particular that the Government's administration continues to be severely hampered by the lack of resources and expertise available, on top of the already poor infrastructure. In this regard, we call on the donor community, including the international financial institutions, to do its utmost for Guinea-Bissau. Endemic poverty remains the single most debilitating social and economic problem threatening the full evolution of democracy and the consolidation of constitutional order. The massive return of refugees and internally displaced persons into the country has also placed considerable demands on the country's social services. In this regard, the upcoming round table scheduled for February 2001 in Geneva will be an important development for Guinea-Bissau.

We firmly believe that the success of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process is particularly crucial to the continuing peace process and the well-being of the country. Likewise, the Government's priority of restructuring the armed forces as part of the democratization process must be supported. Any factors that might lead to instability and backsliding to the chaotic conditions of the past must be averted at all costs.

We wish to reiterate the continued relevance of the regional dimension to Guinea-Bissau's successful rehabilitation. Lasting security and stability in the subregion depend to a large extent on peaceful cooperation between neighbours. In this regard, Malaysia encourages and welcomes the continued close cooperation between Guinea-Bissau and Senegal, as well as other States members of the Economic Community of West African States in the subregion. Border tensions must be curbed and the parties should be encouraged to find means of de-escalating tensions and to discuss cooperative strategies to secure the common border.

In conclusion, Malaysia wishes to pay a tribute to Representative Nana-Sinkam, the staff of the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau and the whole United Nations country team for their tireless and commendable contributions to the peace-building efforts of the Government and people of Guinea-Bissau.

Finally, Malaysia fully supports the draft presidential statement on the situation in Guinea-Bissau that is before us.

The President: I thank the representative of Malaysia for his kind words and for reminding us of the debate two weeks ago on the theme of "no exit without strategy". Indeed, it is our view that all these issues are linked and connected and that, unless we in the international community make up strategies that are holistic, we will not succeed. I think that it is indeed important to realize these linkages every time we discuss any of these issues.

Mr. Andjaba (Namibia): Namibia is pleased to see you, Madam, presiding over this important discussion on the situation in Guinea-Bissau. We also welcome the participation this morning of the Secretary-General and thank him for addressing the political, military and humanitarian aspects of the situation prevailing in the country and the subregion in general.

The presence here of the Vice-Prime Minister of Guinea-Bissau speaks volumes. Among other things, it is an indication of the trust and belief of the Government and people of Guinea-Bissau in the United Nations. It also demonstrates the commitment of the Government to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and its rejection of chaos and anarchy.

Since the reinstallation of democracy in Guinea-Bissau, steady progress has been made in the strengthening of democratic institutions, the resettlement of displaced populations and the consolidation of sustainable peace and economic reconstruction. That process has been acknowledged by the Security Council and the rest of the international community. The contributions of the United Nations system, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the bilateral donors are highly appreciated. In this connection, we welcome the participation of the Vice-President of the World Bank in this meeting and thank him for his very important statement.

The role played by the Economic Community of West African States and the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries cannot be overemphasized. Further assistance in these areas is sought, without conditionalities attached that would undo the process of overcoming the negative consequences of the civil war and the culture of military intervention in politics.

Your personal participation in this meeting, Madam, adds an important gender dimension to this discussion and my delegation appreciates that highly. Equally important, however, you hail from a country which understands the value of development assistance. Your colleague, the Foreign Minister of your country, while addressing the Security Council recently, pointed out that development assistance is an important aspect of your foreign policy and my delegation fully agrees, for we can confirm that because we Namibians have benefited from assistance which the Government and people of the Netherlands gave us during the difficult years of our liberation struggle. We continue to receive that assistance to this day. Therefore, when we make the plea today, on behalf of the Government and people of Guinea-Bissau, for bilateral and multilateral assistance without conditionalities, we are requesting your Government and other donor countries to understand and act upon it. Your country's voice and that of other donor countries on this matter can make the difference.

The reappearance of General Mane and his military junta on the political landscape disrupted the political discourse in the country and the subregion at large. It is good news that the residents of Bissau who ran in all directions after renewed fighting have returned. It is high time for General Mane's followers to know that his leadership generates not hope, but doom, and that he will lead them not to peace and prosperity, but to chaos and perpetual destitution. All this can be prevented only if the international community continues and enhances its assistance to the Government and people of Guinea-Bissau.

What is also disquieting is the whereabouts of General Mane himself. Wherever he is and whatever he is planning to do, the loyal forces that nipped the rising tide of renewed instability in the bud must continue to turn the tide of history against him. He must be made to face the consequences of his miscalculations.

It is important to realize that the remedy for political instability is for the State to make a conscious and dedicated effort to provide for the economically vulnerable groups, including the provision of land and other support facilities to the internally displaced persons and returnees. The system must provide free expression of dissent; its suppression is a recipe for disaster. To accept and value diversity and harness its potential by unleashing peoples' creativity in the pursuit of the common good will help maintain

universal tranquillity in a climate of pressures. This has been proved in stable countries. It is our view that a strong civil society in Guinea-Bissau will indeed reinforce the foundation of democracy.

Finally, we call on the international community to help the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process and give every assistance to the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau and to the Government of Guinea-Bissau to enable them to carry out their mission successfully.

The President: I thank the representative of Namibia for his kind words addressed to me. I will pass them on to my colleague and friend, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. We have been working hard together over the past two years to try to make our policies in foreign affairs and development cooperation coherent and support each other, including in the positions we have been taking in this Council. So I am glad that the representative of Namibia made these kind comments about that.

The last speaker on my list who is also a member of the Security Council happens to be me in my national capacity. After that, there are four other speakers still on the list, but I really would like to say now that if there is anyone who wants to come back to any of the issues raised by others, I would welcome that. I would particularly like to invite Callisto Madavo of the World Bank and the representative of Guinea-Bissau, maybe at the end of our meeting, to say a few words in reaction to many of the things that have been said. I wanted to warn members about that, but before we move there I now want to make a little statement in my capacity as the Minister for Development Cooperation of the Netherlands.

A great deal has been said; let me just try to focus on four points that I wanted to make. The debate today has been about the wider issues, but the current situation in Guinea-Bissau is a very chilling illustration of the first point that I wanted to make, that is, the importance of being very careful not to divide conflicts up into different stages: pre-conflict, conflict and post-conflict. That type of compartmentalization does not fit with reality. One of the first things I did when I became a minister was to attend a round table organized by the Brookings Institution at the request of the World Bank, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and some other entities within the United Nations system in early 1999. There, we concluded that

> "A response to the needs of post-conflict societies organized along two artificially compartmentalized lines, namely the emergency-humanitarian and the long-term developmental, does not do justice to the fluidity, uncertainty and complexity that characterize war-torn societies".

We have to keep that very much in mind. That kind of compartmentalization would force us, in the case of Guinea-Bissau, to answer hypothetical questions such as these. Was it in June 1998 that the conflict started? Was it in November 1998 that it ended, with the signing of the Abuja treaty? Should we consider the second round of elections the beginning of a post-conflict situation, or is it still too early to speak of a post-conflict situation? Last week, we suddenly saw those troubling events, and we all had a great deal of concern that this young democracy might suffer a serious relapse. We are happy to see that the situation, thank God, is calm, that the elected President's Government is back in charge and that General Mane and the military have had to accept the primacy of the civilian authorities. Rebuilding efforts can and must now continue, and we urge all to reconcile themselves in a forward-looking spirit.

It is exactly that fluid situation, illustrated by what we saw last week, that means we should not think in terms of pre-conflict, conflict and post-conflict, but should have a more holistic view about what I like to call peace-building. Because that is what it is all about, before, during and after a conflict, no matter where you draw the lines. We have to work at peace-building, and one cannot do that during every stage.

What we need is a more integrated, more coherent and better coordinated approach in Guinea-Bissau, and also in other countries in that twilight zone between conflict and post-conflict peace-building. Peace-building must be part of an integrated approach that includes poverty reduction, the improvement of governance and policies, democratization and the development of an active civil society to counterbalance government.

Some would say that peace-building is a form of development cooperation and thus should not be on the Security Council's agenda. Well, as I am sure members know, we completely disagree with such a narrow interpretation of what we should be doing here in the

Security Council. For us, the Netherlands, one of the overarching objectives of our membership has been to promote a more integrated, a more coordinated, a more holistic approach, particularly regarding conflicts in Africa. I really hope that today's meeting has been another step in that direction. We really believe that it remains relevant for the Council, in the light of its primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, to discuss these issues of peace-building too, even if they can be called development cooperation. Consolidating an often fragile peace; security policy; and development cooperation: it all comes together, and we have to integrate all the various dimensions.

I was glad to hear how many members — Mali, Argentina and others — stressed that it is essential for the international community to get its act together. We have to make a better effort to attain that holistic, system-wide approach. Together, we can do so much more than any of us can do individually. The total could be so much more than the sum of its parts. All of us — all the various actors — should be much more synergetic. We have to avoid mission creep in the system; we have to avoid overlaps; we have to fill those gaps that we have been talking about; we have to rise above the institutional egos that we too often see in the international system.

Strong coordination among these actors in peace-building is essential: the United Nations on the political side; other United Nations agencies, such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), together with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), on the development side; as well as bilateral donors. I was really glad to hear how many members — so many that I did not even keep a list — made the point that it is important to get all those actors to work together. In Guinea-Bissau, I think, it could have, and should have, led to a faster response better tailored to the demands of the situation — if we had got our act together earlier on.

The second point I want to make is that, just as there is no clear line between conflict and post-conflict, there is no very clear distinction between humanitarian and regular aid. We have to fill the gap. I am very concerned about how international interest often fades away once a conflict disappears from the television screens. If it is not on CNN, we forget about it, and we donors stop our financing. Humanitarian aid dries up, and we depart the country and leave the country to its fate. There you have the big black hole that many countries face post-conflict. Donors then adopt a wait-and-see attitude once the most urgent phase of the conflict is over. In Guinea-Bissau we saw that donor funding dropped very sharply, and it is very important to realize that that kind of declining donor funding in fact destabilizes countries, and can actually push countries back into conflict. We have to act a little more responsibly as donors and as the international community.

Humanitarian aid should be complemented early on by peace-building and rehabilitation activities. At the post-conflict stage, of course, humanitarian aid has to be phased out, but not cold turkey. There too, there must be no exit without strategy, a strategy aiming at more sustainable forms of development. I really want to repeat this plea: countries emerging from conflict should not be left alone, because that truly creates the perfect breeding ground for a new escalation of conflict.

The good news is that we are talking about this, and recognizing and acknowledging that there is a gap problem between humanitarian and structural aid. The World Bank-UNHCR initiative by the Brookings Institution attests to that; we acknowledged, or at least paid lip-service to the fact, that relief, return, reintegration, reconciliation, recovery, rehabilitation and reconstruction, while they may be separate concepts, are all linked in the real world. They are one thing. I am very glad that we have acknowledged this, but we have to do a better job of translating it into our actions as an international community.

In that context, I am, again, really pleased that Callisto Madavo was here. I am also really pleased to have heard so many members — including Jamaica, Ukraine, Malaysia and Namibia — welcome the World Bank's presence here. I think it was very important to have it represented, because I think we all welcome the increased involvement of the international financial institutions in peace-building and in post-conflict activities. The representative of the European Union has already stated — and how can I but agree — that, in post-conflict situations the international financial institutions have to be politically sensitive in checking their conditionalities, if this is relevant in a given post-conflict situation. I would add that they should go the extra mile to foster inclusion in the way they work and to foster institutional capacity-building.

In fact, if I may, I would commend the World Bank, for a change, for having done that in the case of Guinea-Bissau. Because of jet-lag, I woke up at 4 a.m., and I said to myself, "Well, why not read the poverty reduction strategy paper, the IMF paper and so forth?" So I read all those documents from 19th Street NW, Washington. And, for a change, they did a very good job. I think I would want to make the point that, in checking on political sensitivity and on the relevance of conditionalities in the context of post-conflict situations, they did a very good job, so let us say so.

My third point is that we should have no illusions about our role as outsiders. I want to underline that also to the delegation of Guinea-Bissau. They bear the brunt of the work. Of course, in every society there is a fight for the biggest piece of the pie. We have that in our countries, too. The question is where that fight takes place, the theatre where the parties fight. Is it the parliament building or a battlefield? That is the issue.

There is a particular problem in poor countries, in that the pie is not that big. What is worse is that in many poor countries the pie is not growing. Why is it so easy where I come from for us to continue to be democratic? It is easy enough in the Netherlands: the pie is growing fast. It is much easier to have inclusive development if the pie grows. So if we want to be serious about conflict resolution, having the pie grow is very important. Again, that is where development cooperation kicks in, and why we development Ministers should be in this Chamber once in a while.

But, again, it is up those in Guinea-Bissau and the countries concerned themselves. What I am always so energized about is how often, even during conflict, one sees a peace process start at the grass-roots level in many countries before a formal settlement is reached. One sees religious and women's groups, civil society and people who are simply weary of the fighting and needless bloodshed. They can play a very crucial role in peace-building, pursuing peace from the grassroots level, building from the bottom up. It is very important for us to recognize that popular involvement and support it in order to spur that momentum and keep it going.

Such an inclusive model cannot be imposed from the outside. A peaceful solution to a conflict is possible only if the internal parties have the will to achieve stability. We outsiders, including the United Nations and regional organizations, can intervene and contribute successfully only if that will exists in countries. I am really pleased with the recent developments in Guinea-Bissau that have proved that to be true. We saw a legitimate transfer of power after last year's elections. Although considerable progress has been made since democracy was restored, the domestic political process still faces a number of serious military, economic and social bottlenecks.

I think that your country, Mr. Vice-Prime Minister, deserves a lot of support. We need to commend you, as Mr. Madavo did, for the way in which, for instance, you have tried to make policy-making inclusive and have invited civil society to participate in the process set out in the poverty reduction strategy paper, the process that led to your poverty reduction strategy.

The last point I want to make is a very obvious one that has been made by many others, including Malaysia, Namibia, Bangladesh, Canada and the World Bank. I refer to the huge importance of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), even if in Guinea-Bissau it is called DRR. I am convinced that if one looks at a past success story in Africa — Mozambique, say — to see what made it such a success, one discovers that the answer is that timely, adequate and generous financing was on the table for DDR. That was extremely important to make peace stick in that case. We should learn that lesson.

I have been pleased to follow Security Council debates, including that of 23 March 2000. I would like to quote from the presidential statement made following that debate:

> "adequate and timely funding for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration is critical to the successful implementation of a peace process". (*S/PRST/2000/10*)

I just want to say here that I would like to honour the Netherlands membership of the Council by walking the walk, putting my money where my mouth is, and pledging as the Netherlands Minister for Development Cooperation that, as far as I am concerned, post-conflict peace-building will never be allowed to fail in Africa because of lack of financial resources for DDR — be it in Guinea-Bissau, Sierra Leone or Burundi. I want to pledge here that, for our part, we will kick in the money needed for DDR, for I believe that it is the best investment in peace. I know that it can be a risky investment. There is no guarantee of

success, as money alone does not do the trick. But I sometimes feel, as the Development Minister, that it is much more risky not to take any risks.

As I did, for instance, for Ethiopia and Eritrea, I would like to ask the multilateral organizations — the World Bank and UNDP— to be there in time to develop DDR programmes. Nothing can be done with my pledge unless there is an account number, unless the multilateral organizations do their homework and unless these programmes are in place in time before the momentum wanes. Of course, in addition there is also the issue of local ownership; for otherwise initiatives will be doomed to fail anyway. And those who bear public responsibility — the Governments — will have to re-establish their credibility; and the balance between government and the military has to be restored.

I very much welcome the steps that have been taken to achieve rapid DDR in Guinea-Bissau. Activities really got started just two months ago, but a lot of progress has been made. I call on all parties in Guinea-Bissau to keep up the momentum, and I join everyone here who has said today that there is some room to improve burden-sharing in the financing of DDR. Let me underline that.

Fighting poverty and increasing participation are crucial to the sustainable building of peace. This is all about people. We should all join forces to offer a perspective to the young women and men of Africa, making sure that young men do not perceive taking up arms as their only possible future. The less people have to lose, the greater the risk of conflict. Effective development cooperation therefore helps to ensure that people have the hope that their children will have a better future than they have; that people, in effect, have something to hold on to that they do not want to lose. I think that is what we are here together for, what we must try to achieve in the future.

I now change hats again to resume my functions as President of the Council, pausing to apologize to the interpreters.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of the Gambia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Jagne (Gambia): We are honoured to see you presiding over this open briefing on the situation in Guinea-Bissau, Madam President. Your presence is clear testimony to the importance that your great country attaches to the crucial issue of post-conflict peace-building and, by extension, to development cooperation generally. The enthusiasm, zeal and energy with which you have presided over this meeting are indeed remarkable.

Let me also take this opportunity to congratulate Ambassador van Walsum on his presidency this month. It has been an eventful and successful month by all accounts. Through you, Madam President, we owe the Netherlands a debt of gratitude for arranging this meeting.

I remember vividly Ambassador van Walsum's early days in the Security Council, when he demonstrated a keen interest in post-conflict peace-building and even suggested Guinea-Bissau as a possible example. Those efforts will not be in vain. It is our fervent hope, therefore, that the people of Guinea-Bissau will reap the benefits at the end of the day. As he will be leaving us soon, allow me to wish him success in his future endeavours.

In the same vein, I would like to pay tribute to his predecessor, our brother and colleague Ambassador Andjaba, for a job well done during Namibia's presidency last month. We recall encouraging Ambassador Andjaba, when we were leaving the Council, to keep the flag flying. Well, he has not only kept it flying, but kept it flying even higher. I would like to request the Namibian delegation to convey to Ambassador Andjaba the fact that we are very proud of him.

Allow me to join previous speakers in welcoming the high-ranking delegation from Guinea-Bissau, led by the Vice-Prime Minister. After his eloquent presentation this morning, it will not be necessary to go into great detail. But as neighbours of Guinea-Bissau, we in the Gambia cannot afford to be indifferent to the plight of our brothers and sisters in that country. In fact, this body will recall the preponderant role played by President Jammeh in the quest for a lasting solution.

Furthermore, the situation has a regional dimension that cannot be ignored. In other words, the potential for serious ramifications throughout our West African subregion still exists. It was partly for this reason that the Group of Friends of Guinea-Bissau was formed to contribute to the collective endeavour to mobilize resources for the reconstruction efforts in Guinea-Bissau. This was done bearing in mind the

vicissitudes of the transition process. More often than not, the situation is precarious — thus the need for sustained external assistance to consolidate the modest gains made by the people and their leaders.

It is necessary in this connection to recall the successful emergency Round Table Conference of donors for Guinea-Bissau that was held in Geneva last year. It was successful in terms of the pledges made, but, as we all know, donors have yet to make good on their promises. I need hardly emphasize that democracy and the rule of law cannot flourish in conditions of active poverty. The people of Guinea-Bissau have come a long way, resilient and resolute as ever to move ahead, despite all the odds.

We certainly do not underestimate the problems involved and the many challenges that lie ahead, but we are confident that with a little help from outside, these challenges are not insurmountable. At our last meeting of the Group of Friends, the Secretary-General's Representative in Guinea-Bissau — who, by the way, is doing a superb job, along with his staff, in the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNOGBIS) — did not mince his words when he discussed the socio-economic situation of the country. He described it as very, very difficult. Yet he described the overall political situation, in particular parliamentary activity, as satisfactory.

Furthermore — and this is very important — we were informed that the human rights situation has improved a great deal. As was mentioned by many speakers during the debate on exit strategies, there is a need to avoid a gap in the transition phase from conflict resolution to peace-building. That is why we have put a great deal of emphasis on timely assistance. Moreover, financial institutions should show some degree of flexibility when dealing with countries in transition, notably the Bretton Woods institutions.

Let me at this juncture also commend the World Bank in particular for the assistance provided to the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process. Programmes related to this process should be vigorously pursued. We are encouraged by the presence of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and, indeed, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) at this briefing. The remarks made by Mr. Madavo, Vice-President of the World Bank, were most reassuring.

In his report of 29 September 2000, the Secretary-General stated:

"Guinea-Bissau has continued to make important progress towards consolidating its democratization process. However, the overall situation in the country remains worrying. The ever-present threat of military intervention, the precarious border situation and the country's chronic poverty make the road ahead difficult. The challenges are formidable, and the new civilian Government has neither the means nor the capacity to address them on its own." *(S/2000/920, para. 20)*

Allow me to thank the Secretary-General for his opening remarks this morning, which set the tone for our debate. There could not have been a better summary. While it is true that since the report was issued, a number of countries have contributed generously towards the UNOGBIS trust fund, it is also true that a lot more remains to be done.

In this connection, it is gratifying to note that another Round Table Conference is scheduled for February next year. We all look forward to it. But at the same time, it should be borne in mind that it is one thing to convene a Round Table Conference of donors and make pledges, and quite another to disburse the funds, as recent experience has shown. We are optimistic, though, that we will get it right this time, so that together, through an integrated and consolidated approach, we can succeed in our partnership with the Government and people of Guinea-Bissau to make their country a shining example of post-conflict peace-building. The Government and people of the Gambia will always be available in our concerted efforts to make this dream come true.

The President: In a debate in which we have discussed the gap between humanitarian and structural aid, I am grateful to the representative of the Gambia for mentioning the gap between pledges and disbursements. His point is well taken.

The next speaker is the representative of Senegal. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Ka (Senegal) (*spoke in French*): Madam, the fact that you are presiding over this meeting, devoted to the consideration of the situation in Guinea-Bissau from the perspective of post-conflict peace-building, bears eloquent witness to your own personal

commitment, and to that of your country, to the cause of peace and stability in Africa. May I therefore, in welcoming you to New York, extend my delegation's warmest congratulations to you on this positive and very timely initiative taken by the Dutch presidency of the Security Council. I wish also to welcome among us the Vice-Prime Minister of Guinea-Bissau, Mr. Faustino Imbali.

The Security Council is today holding an important debate on the situation in Guinea-Bissau, at a time when, more than ever, that country, which is linked to Senegal by history and geography, needs the aid and support of the international community.

This initiative could not have been more welcome, as it comes at a time of doubt and fragility, following the recent attempt by the former head of the junta to destabilize the democratically elected Government of President Kumba Yalá. This seditious movement, which is in the process of being quashed, reflects the full scope of the potential danger that the enemies of peace, national reconciliation and even of democracy pose to the process of rebuilding the country and to social reintegration programmes, which were designed, with the assistance of the United Nations, to ease the suffering of thousands of refugees and displaced persons.

Since his inauguration to the highest office in the land in January 2000, President Kumba Yalá has been carrying out commendable actions to strengthen the spirit of reconciliation among the population to consolidate democracy, the rule of law, the sound management of public affairs and respect for human rights. In this context, the new Government set as priority objectives the depoliticization of the army and the reduction of its ranks to a level compatible with the country's limited resources in order to devote more financing to the revitalization of the functioning of public institutions, relaunching the economy and for the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme.

President Kumba Yalá has also been personally committed to improving, through confidence-building, measures the country's relationship with neighbouring countries, particularly Senegal. He has also endeavoured to build and strengthen cooperation between Guinea-Bissau and the international community.

It must be recognized that in carrying out the objectives and programmes defined so far, the United Nations has played a primary role under the enlightened leadership of the Secretary-General, to whom I wish to pay tribute for the preventive diplomacy measures that he has always recommended to the authorities of Guinea-Bissau. Furthermore, the Secretary-General understood very early on that all acute crises or prolonged political instability in that country could have grave repercussions on the security of the countries of the entire subregion.

The case of Guinea-Bissau allows us to affirm that the United Nations, with the international community's cooperation and with the will of the political actors, can make a significant contribution to the efforts made by all countries, following the example of Guinea-Bissau, to move from a situation of war to the dynamics of peace in order to gradually restore constitutional order and resolutely embark on the path of rebuilding a nation reconciled with itself.

In spite of the recent regrettable and condemnable events, my country believes that the international community, beginning with the United Nations, must continue to support peace and reconstruction efforts in Guinea-Bissau. It is therefore our duty to support the efforts of the democratically elected Government of President Kumba Yalá to design and implement the many programmes that he has devised to strengthen peace, promote national reconciliation and speed up the country's economic and social recovery.

It is because Senegal shares a common destiny with Guinea-Bissau that President Abdoulaye Wade, fortified by this conviction, has undertaken important political action to strengthen the special relationship between the two countries. In our view, the personal friendship that binds President Wade and President Kumba Yalá augurs well for the advent of an era of peace and stability between the two neighbouring countries and between those countries and the entire subregion.

The fact remains that stabilizing the situation in Guinea-Bissau depends on the consistency and the amount of assistance provided by the international community, a prerequisite for the economic and social rebirth of that fraternal country. Certainly the Security Council meeting today can be seen by the people of Guinea-Bissau as a source of regained hope of an entire people in an international community rallying together

again to help it. The international community of donors, in order to respond to the appeal made by the Secretary-General this morning, must support the programmes developed by the Government of President Kumba Yalá, programmes which already benefit from United Nations support.

In conclusion, my delegation fully supports the proposal to convene another round table of donor countries, which would, in the context of a coordinated and integrated approach, make it possible to mobilize additional resources for the reconstruction of Guinea-Bissau.

The President: That was a very heart-warming, constructive statement.

The next speaker is the representative of Guinea. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Fall (Guinea) (*spoke in French*): My delegation is pleased that this meeting, devoted to the situation in Guinea-Bissau, is being held under your dynamic leadership, Madam President. We appreciate your vision of the problems that concern us now, particularly problems of cooperation and development assistance. My delegation also wishes to congratulate your country's delegation on having taken the initiative to hold this meeting.

I should also like to welcome the presence of the important delegation of Guinea-Bissau, led by the Vice-Prime Minister.

Members will recall the tireless efforts made during the first crisis that occurred in Guinea-Bissau by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries to put an end to the civil war and to restore normal constitutional life in that country. These efforts, which were supported by the rest of the international community, have allowed the restoration of peace and the holding of democratic elections in the country in November 1999 and January 2000. However, we must stress that Guinea-Bissau has been totally exhausted by this ordeal, with a chaotic economic situation, weakened institutions and thousands of refugees outside the country.

It is precisely at a time when the international community has been trying to find solutions to consolidate the fragile peace obtained and to ease the suffering of the fraternal people of Guinea-Bissau that new events have occurred, thus aggravating the very disquieting situation of the country. The former junta's refusal to accept the newly established institutions is clear for all to see. Just a few days ago these people who sparked the initial events tried once again to call into question the already precarious political equilibrium in the country. For the Government of the Republic of Guinea, the situation that Guinea-Bissau is experiencing must be taken into account by the Security Council in its concern to ensure stability in West Africa, an area already severely affected by many internal conflicts.

This is also, and above all, an opportunity to implement the relevant recommendations of the Brahimi report, a report which I welcome and which, since its approval, has already been the subject of in-depth study by the Security Council for its effective implementation. The latest events in Guinea-Bissau should be understood as an indication of the need to fully take into account all stages of conflict settlement, particularly disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and the necessary parallel measures. My delegation is pleased that this view is shared by several other delegations.

Consequently, all appropriate measures should be considered by the Council to restore and consolidate peace and security in Guinea-Bissau, particularly neutralizing the troublemakers and adopting effective parallel measures to promote national reconciliation, pursue political dialogue and relaunch the economy, which has already been hit hard by this series of unfortunate events. The achievement of all of these objectives will require the effective engagement of the international community, in particular the international economic and financial institutions. In this context, I should like to welcome the presence of the representative of the World Bank.

The Republic of Guinea, which is linked by history and geography with Guinea-Bissau, will provide its full support for the achievement of the objectives of national reconciliation in that country.

The President: I thank the representative of Guinea for his short, focused statement, again reminding us of the importance of implementing the Brahimi report.

The next speaker is the Executive Secretary of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking countries, Mrs. Dulce Maria Pereira, to whom the Council has

extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite her to take a seat at the Council table and to make her statement.

Mrs. Pereira: I have the honour to thank you, Madam President, on behalf of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries (CPLP), for giving me the opportunity to make this statement before the Security Council on an item related to one of the Community's members, Guinea-Bissau — an item, which, as a consequence, is of close interest to Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Portugal and Sao Tome and Principe. East Timor — an observer in the CPLP until it gains statehood and thus becomes a full member of the Community — is also closely interested in the issue.

I wish to begin by congratulating the Dutch presidency on having organized this meeting dedicated to Guinea-Bissau. We also thank the Secretary-General for his presence and briefing.

During this month, the importance of a smooth transition in a continued United Nations presence in conflict areas was highlighted by the Security Council through the adoption of resolution 1327 (2000), on the results of the Council's working group on the Brahimi report, and through the open debate on the item "No exit without strategy". The close relationship between peace-building activities and the objectives envisaged for the maintenance of international security is particularly evident in Guinea-Bissau, a country that is striving to establish the foundations of a durable peace after a devastating conflict.

Regrettably, during recent days, Guinea-Bissau experienced signs of serious political and military instability. We hope those events will not destabilize the efforts — although such efforts fall short of the possibilities announced by the international community — being undertaken to implement a definitive peace and create a truly democratic State in that country.

I should now like to switch to Portuguese — the language of the Community that I am here to represent.

(*spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation*)

The Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries expressed itself in unequivocal terms in opposing the breach of constitutional normalcy in Guinea-Bissau. The Permanent Coordination Committee of the CPLP appealed for dialogue; urged those responsible for the current situation to observe the rule of law and the Constitution in accordance with the commitments undertaken and reiterated by all regarding respect for democratic values; and called for the consolidation of the conditions necessary for the country's reconstruction and the maintenance of peace.

It is our hope that the instability of recent days can provide lessons for the future and that the Government of Guinea-Bissau will have its legitimacy and capacity to govern strengthened. We hope to see a new impetus provided to the promotion of national cohesion, with the cooperation of opposition political parties in a clear demonstration of the spirit of reconciliation, in order to consolidate the gains of democracy and to reinforce the chances of achieving the long-awaited economic development of the country.

In this regard, it is essential for the international community to send a clear message of support to the democratic authorities of Guinea-Bissau, expressing, in words as well as in actions, the interest with which it continues to follow the process of the country's reconstruction in this post-conflict phase. We express our satisfaction with the text of the presidential statement to be formally adopted in this meeting. While sending to Guinea-Bissau a message of support for national cohesion and for reinforcement of the democratization of the regime, the international community should make available the means that will help the Government to face the current economic situation.

Reversing this unfavourable situation is mainly the responsibility of the authorities and the people of Guinea-Bissau. It is imperative that they exercise this responsibility with realism and a sense of statehood. The international community, however, should not abandon Guinea-Bissau to its own fate; rather, at this key juncture, it must help to coordinate support measures that can allow Guinea-Bissau to regain the stability that it needs to radically change the current situation. It will therefore be essential to support the Government in responding to the most immediate and basic needs of the local population, thus giving the benefit of the doubt to a country that is endeavouring to succeed in the difficult task of democratizing its political structures and reconstructing its social and economic fabric.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the people of Guinea-Bissau, the country's economic situation has reached a breaking point. The obstacles faced in Guinea-Bissau's economic development and the high level of dependence on donors and programmes developed on the basis of analyses and points of view from outside the country have resulted in the country's inability to benefit from the skills of the majority of citizens who are able to contribute to the country's administration.

It is necessary to bear in mind the fact that we are speaking about a Member State in which water and electricity supply systems are almost non-existent, fuel is scarce and the levels of unemployment, especially among young people, are dramatic. The illicit traffic in small arms is also undermining the consolidation of peace in Guinea-Bissau. Poverty statistics are alarming, and the seriousness of the spread of AIDS can be measured by experts' statements to the effect that Guinea-Bissau runs the risk, in the short term, of becoming a nation of children. This situation is aggravated by the lack of financial resources, which means that the Government must devote almost all its budget to the financing of civil administration and the armed forces.

Reference to the complex subregional political context, with its direct impact upon the domestic stability of Guinea-Bissau, is also necessary. The members of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries hope that the international community and the United Nations will support the efforts aimed at the stabilization of the region and, in particular, at encouraging confidence-building measures to increase security along the border between Guinea-Bissau and Senegal.

Despite a sombre assessment of the economic field, the bottom line on the transition process in Guinea-Bissau is undoubtedly positive. Contrary to many assumptions, Guinea-Bissau was able to institute a democratic regime in which the main political bodies are headed by officials elected by direct and universal suffrage, in elections supervised by the United Nations.

The CPLP deems it fundamental that the international community assist Guinea-Bissau, inter alia through the speedy release of funds pledged in the May 1999 donors round table. Need I recall that almost none of the financial commitments undertaken during the 1998 crisis were fulfilled. In the same vein, the involvement of important development partners, such as the United Nations, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, is also important. It would entail the much needed financing for Guinea-Bissau's demobilization and economic reconstruction programmes, as well as further consideration of the country's eligibility to participate in debt relief initiatives in the context of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Debt Initiative.

Recognizing the presence here of representatives of Bretton Woods institutions, the members of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries suggest that Guinea-Bissau be granted waivers for the implementation of development programmes needed by the country. Parameters and conditions for the implementation of a programme's objectives should not serve as obstacles to development. They should instead be flexible, so as to allow these countries to absorb the international aid in a satisfactory manner. The CPLP members strongly support the idea that the international community extend to the people of Guinea-Bissau this vote of confidence in their capacity for reconstruction and reconciliation.

We would also like to reaffirm our conviction that Guinea-Bissau's stability is directly linked both to the reactivation of its economy and, above all, to the demobilization of former combatants. In regard to the latter, the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries insists that it is imperative to provide for demobilization with dignity. Demobilization should lead to reintegration. It will be successful only if for those leaving the armed forces an alternative source of income and occupation, a daily life with dignity and a less sombre future are assured. It should be noted that under the present circumstances the local system does not provide for the payment of pensions for demobilized individuals. Without an incentive for former combatants to set down their arms, without offering alternative employment, a non-traumatic demobilization will continue to elude us. We underline Guinea-Bissau's interest in reintegration initiatives that combine disarmament projects with income-generation programmes.

For its part, the CPLP continues to support the reconciliation and development process in Guinea-Bissau, both in the political and diplomatic field and in the area of cooperation for development. Member States of the CPLP are important partners in cooperation with Guinea-Bissau, particularly with

regard to education, support for entrepreneurial activities, institution-building and measures related to external debt. In the electoral sector, members of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries have contributed to human resources capacity-building, as well as with observers and material for the process of voter registration in 1999 and for the legislative and presidential elections of 1999 and 2000.

Lastly, in the political and diplomatic field, reference should be made to the important role played by the contact group of the CPLP in the negotiations that led to the ceasefire and to the stabilization of the situation in Guinea-Bissau last year, at a juncture when peace was threatened and when the people of Guinea-Bissau needed immediate assistance. In this sense, the fundamental role of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries in the process of restoring peace and security throughout Guinea-Bissau was recognized by Security Council resolution 1216 (1998). It is only natural that, having helped to establish the foundations for peace and stability in the region, the CPLP is keenly interested in closely following and contributing to each subsequent step in the process of the normalization of life in Guinea-Bissau and its involvement in the global development process.

The members of the CPLP hope that this meeting will help renew the commitments of the international community to the people of Guinea-Bissau, and convey a message of perseverance to them. As recent events in Guinea-Bissau have proved, the United Nations work, though successful thus far, is far from over. It needs ongoing encouragement to achieve the goals set by the Council in its recent decisions regarding post-conflict peace-building. This is the time for bilateral donors and international financial institutions to show that their determination to consolidate peace in Guinea-Bissau is lasting beyond the peak of the crisis and is continuing throughout the current period. At this crucial juncture, rehabilitating the country's economy means, simultaneously, preventing the resurgence of destabilizing factors until a lasting peace can take root.

It is precisely in this immediate post-conflict period that stability is threatened, including by the collapse of the confidence of the people. When political gains — mainly the establishment of a democratic order — are not followed by better opportunities and better economic prospects, it is difficult to overcome basic difficulties. Therefore, we must avoid distancing ourselves or resorting to solutions that can only increase the country's debt.

The consolidation of peace will be assured only through investment in the people's capacity and through the support of the Government and local leadership for the implementation of poverty-eradication programmes, managed by a transparent result-monitoring system.

We all know that conflict situations are in themselves threats to the social, cultural and economic rights of the individual. Thus any way of preventing the resurgence of conflict will be a victory for the people of Guinea-Bissau, and the international community as a whole. The case of Guinea-Bissau gives the Council an opportunity to put into practice the principles expressed in resolutions on post-conflict peace-building.

The President: We are grateful for that very comprehensive statement.

Speakers have been thanking me for putting this item on the agenda. I must say that I have to share all these thanks with Jamaica and Bangladesh, of course.

One of the many things that you called for, Mrs. Pereira, was that the international financial institutions show determination. I would like to hear to what extent the World Bank is ready to face that challenge and whatever other comments you, Mr. Madavo, would like to make in response to what you have heard today. I give you the floor.

Mr. Madavo: In keeping with the manners expected of a guest, I shall be very brief, and limiting myself to making three small points — or three footnotes.

First, to go back to my initial statement, we are very grateful to have been invited and to be part of this international effort, as I characterized it, to take risks for peace-building in Guinea-Bissau. I am particularly interested in this as Vice-President for Africa, because 20 per cent to 25 per cent of Africa's people live in countries in conflict or are impacted by conflict, and in that kind of situation development and economic progress are not possible. So this issue of resolving conflict is absolutely central to the development agenda in Africa today.

My second footnote has to do with how gratified I am by the call from many of you for a holistic and

integrated approach to conflict resolution, supported by cohesive coordination and partnership, and with the statement that we should go beyond simply talking about these issues and act on them, moving from talk to action. I also will bring back with me to Washington the messages sent by you on the importance of political sensitivity on the part of the Bretton Woods institutions, on the importance of realism in the way in which we structure programmes and on the importance of flexibility in the way in which we approach some of these issues. All of this must be done without lowering our sights in terms of the key objectives of encouraging growth focused on poverty reduction in these countries. In many ways we have to be open to a process of learning by doing. These are not easy issues; they are complex. We need to monitor the experience and to learn from that experience, to fit it into the design of future programmes.

My third footnote is that I hear very clearly the message about the importance of focusing on resource mobilization to support peace-building, reconciliation and development. We in the Bank, in particular, are expected to play a role in this question of resource mobilization. But I think there was also a subtext to the comments, which was that it is not enough to have donor conferences in which we make pledges. If these pledges do not translate into commitments and if these commitments do not translate into supporting real implementation on the ground of programmes that produce results, then we are just conferencing and patting ourselves on the back, without having the kind of impact that we are looking for. So I hope that, as we prepare for the round table in February, we shall look a little bit more deeply at what happened. How come the pledges did not translate into commitments? How come the commitments did not translate into support of programmes on the ground that are producing results? What did we learn? What are the constraints? And how shall we fix this in going forward? I very much look forward to the World Bank's supporting — the United Nations Development Programme will be chairing — the round table, working collaboratively and making a contribution to the extended weekend.

This has been a wonderful experience for me. I will certainly go back and reflect this to my colleagues and to my senior management, including Mr. Wolfensohn.

The President: Thank you very much, Mr. Madavo, for coming. It was at fairly short notice that you were prepared to come. In a few weeks' time my country will no longer be sitting at this table. This has been a little bit of a precedent, and I hope that others in the future will also think "why not ask these people to jump on a shuttle and come and join us in the debate whenever we think it is relevant?" I am sure that you and your colleagues would be prepared to do so. I hope that this is a first, but not a last. I think it did contribute to the quality of our debates to have you here. Thank you very much for coming.

Finally, I give the floor to you, Mr. Vice-Prime Minister.

Mr. Imbali (Guinea-Bissau) (*spoke in French*): On behalf of my delegations, I would like to thank the Security Council and, in particular, the Netherlands presidency, for everything that has been done to make this meeting a success. I would like to thank all the speakers for their concurrence with the need to help Guinea-Bissau in its post-conflict period.

I would like to point out, echoing what the Tunisian delegation said, the urgency of providing aid. We should not wait for the round table to provide assistance. Concerning the statement just made by the representative of the World Bank, I would like to say that it is very important for us to see that there is flexibility and recognition of the urgency of assisting Guinea-Bissau.

The Council might have observed that our delegation did not speak at length about the Representative of the United Nations in Guinea-Bissau. The reason is simply that we consider Mr. Nana-Sinkam a brother. We have adopted him and consider him to be of Guinea-Bissau, so I wonder how the Council is going to manage, because we want to keep him. Mr. Nana-Sinkam has played a very important role, and we hope he will continue to play this role in Guinea-Bissau.

I would like to say that we are all concerned about Ansumane Mane at this time. I guarantee that Ansumane Mane will be captured. I guarantee that, with the cooperation of the Guinea-Bissau population, and since he has no external support, he will be captured and brought to justice, as was done in the case of Nino Vieira. If the operation has perhaps been lengthy, it is because of the concern of the authorities of Guinea-Bissau that he be captured alive, and these types of operations are always very delicate. This is one reason why, to date, Ansumane Mane has not been

captured, but I can guarantee that he is still in Guinea-Bissau territory.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the Netherlands for everything it has done for Guinea-Bissau. My delegation is here in this Chamber today thanks to the material assistance of the Netherlands. On behalf of my delegation, I would like to thank you, Madam President.

The President: Thank you very much for your very kind words. Again, I hope that the atmosphere that we have had here today will prevail during the round table meeting. This has to be translated into pledges, and pledges have to be translated into disbursement.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded its business for this meeting.

The Security Council will reconvene immediately to continue its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4239

Security Council

Fifty-fifth year

Provisional

4239th meeting

Wednesday, 29 November 2000, 5 p.m.
New York

President:	Ms. Herfkens	(Netherlands)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Listre
	Bangladesh	Mr. Amin
	Canada	Mr. Heinbecker
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	France	Mr. Teixeira da Silva
	Jamaica	Mr. Ward
	Malaysia	Mr. Mohammad Kamal
	Mali	Mr. Ouane
	Namibia	Mrs. Ashipala-Musavyi
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Tunisia	Miss Zorai
	Ukraine	Mr. Krokhmal
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Minton

Agenda

The situation in Guinea-Bissau.

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

00-77205 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 5.00 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Guinea-Bissau

The President: The Security Council will now continue its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council reiterates its support for the democratically elected Government of Guinea-Bissau, and underlines that all parties concerned, especially the members of the former military junta, must continue to uphold the results of the elections and the principles of democracy, the rule of law, and respect for human rights and civilian rule in the country.

"The Security Council welcomes the return to peace, democracy and constitutional order in Guinea-Bissau, and urges all parties to work towards the consolidation of peace in a spirit of cooperation and reconciliation.

"The Security Council notes with satisfaction the political progress made so far in Guinea-Bissau, and stresses the importance of continued cooperation by all parties towards the consolidation of sustainable peace in Guinea-Bissau. The Council calls upon the members of the former military junta to subordinate themselves fully to the civilian institutions and to withdraw from the political process. The Council underlines that the primary responsibility for the consolidation of peace lies with all the parties and the people of Guinea-Bissau and is concerned that renewed political unrest may be harmful to the consolidation of peace and to the commitment of donors to support the reconstruction of Guinea-Bissau.

"In this connection, the Security Council underlines the importance of an energetic continuation of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process and the need for an urgent and accurate census of all military forces. It recalls the statement of its President of 23 March 2000 (S/PRST/2000/10), and underlines that timely funding for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration is a critical factor to the successful implementation of the peace process in Guinea-Bissau. The Council commends the support provided by the Bretton Woods institutions to the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process in Guinea-Bissau, and stresses the importance of integrated and the coordinated support of Member States for these activities.

"The Security Council recalls the statement of its President of 29 December 1998 (S/PRST/1998/38), and recognizes that the challenges of the post-conflict situation in Guinea-Bissau require an integrated and consolidated approach by all actors to support the Government of Guinea-Bissau, including the United Nations system, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, as well as bilateral donors. In this regard, the Council once again underlines the importance of ensuring a smooth transition from conflict management to post-conflict peace-building and reconstruction, which can be greatly enhanced through adequate coordination of the efforts of all. The Council stresses the special position of the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNOGBIS) in this regard.

"The Security Council recognizes and commends the important role played by UNOGBIS towards helping consolidate peace, democracy and the rule of law, including the strengthening of democratic institutions, and expresses its appreciation for the activities of UNOGBIS. In order to optimize the efforts of UNOGBIS, some degree of flexibility on the part of donors and financial institutions is required concerning issues such as debt relief, trade policies and internal budget constraints.

"The Security Council reiterates that economic rehabilitation and reconstruction constitutes one of the major tasks facing Guinea-Bissau as it emerges from conflict and that significant international assistance is indispensable in promoting sustainable development there. The Council underlines that

an integrated and coordinated approach is required for Guinea-Bissau combining sustainable post-conflict peace-building and economic and development issues.

"The Security Council calls upon Member States to provide generous support at the next round-table scheduled for February 2001 in Geneva.

"The Security Council acknowledges the relevance of the regional dimension. It welcomes the initiatives the President of Guinea-Bissau and the President of Senegal have taken towards stabilization of their common border region. The Council encourages both Governments to explore further possibilities to achieve peace and stability along the regional borders. It commends the Economic Community of West African States and the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries for their continuing contributions towards the return of peace and democracy in Guinea-Bissau.

"The Security Council expresses its intention to keep the situation in Guinea-Bissau under regular review and to coordinate with all actors in the post-conflict peace-building process."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2000/37.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4240

Security Council

Fifty-fifth year

Provisional

4240th meeting

Thursday, 30 November 2000, 12.25 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. van Walsum	(Netherlands)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cappagli
	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Canada	Mr. Vámos-Goldman
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	France	Mr. Alabrune
	Jamaica	Mr. Prendergast
	Malaysia	Mr. Hasmy
	Mali	Mr. Ouane
	Namibia	Mrs. Ashipala-Musavyi
	Russian Federation	Mr. Karev
	Tunisia	Miss Zorai
	Ukraine	Mr. Herasymenko
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Grainger
	United States of America	Mr. Rosenstock

Agenda

International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia since 1991

International Criminal Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Genocide and Other Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of Rwanda and Rwandan Citizens Responsible for Genocide and Other Such Violations Committed in the Territory of Neighbouring States between 1 January and 31 December 1994

Letter dated 7 September 2000 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/865).

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

00-77357 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.25 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia since 1991

International Criminal Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Genocide and Other Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of Rwanda and Rwandan Citizens Responsible for Genocide and Other Such Violations Committed in the Territory of Neighbouring States, between 1 January and 31 December 1994

Letter dated 7 September 2000 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/865)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2000/865, which contains the text of identical letters dated 7 September 2000 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the General Assembly and the President of the Security Council.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/2000/1131, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

As agreed among Council members, I will make a brief statement before the adoption of this draft resolution.

During the consultations on this draft resolution it became apparent that four urgent issues remain to be addressed by the informal working group of the Security Council on the International Criminal Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, namely, the issue of equitable geographical distribution; the issue of compensation of victims, as contained in document S/2000/1063; the issue of compensation of victims of miscarriages of justice and of persons unlawfully arrested or detained, as contained in documents S/2000/904 and S/2000/925; and the issue of gender balance.

I now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/2000/1131.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Bangladesh, Canada, China, France, Jamaica, Malaysia, Mali, Namibia, Netherlands, Russian Federation, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1329 (2000).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.